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WRITINGS

OF

JOHN JEWELL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Died 1571.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

The valuable work here presented to the Christian public is a reprint of the London edition,* and comprehends the most valuable writings of the English Reformers. Their excellence has been generally appreciated, and their republication in the United States, where they are rarely to be met with, must be regarded as an auspicious event, as it may serve to diffuse and perpetuate those principles, in support of which the blood of the martyrs was shed, and for which the American Church is again called to contend. In presenting an exact reprint of the English edition, the Presbyterian Board of Publication do not wish to be considered as concurring in every form of expression or shade of sentiment to be found in these volumes. Their object is to present the Reformers as they appeared in their own writings, at a time when the church was just emerging

* By the London Tract Society.

from papal darkness. Still they appreciate the sound argument, evangelical doctrine and fervent piety which generally characterize their religious writings and can commend them to the discriminating reader.

It affords the Board unfeigned pleasure to state, that they have been encouraged to engage in this enterprise, by the liberality of an esteemed friend who has engaged to assume the entire expense of stereotyping the work. The sum requisite to accomplish this was more than *Five Thousand Dollars.*

The whole work is comprised in *Twelve* volumes, although each volume is complete and distinct in itself.

As the reader may be anxious to know upon what principles the English edition was prepared, the following information on the subject is extracted from the Postscript to that edition.

"The following particulars will explain the manner in which this work has been carried through the press. The pieces contained therein are without abridgment, unless where expressly mentioned. There are a few omissions which are necessary in a publication intended to be generally circulated, and to be useful at the present day. In other editions, the obsolete spelling has been laid aside, the

same plan is pursued in the present publication; the involved construction of sentences, common in writers of that period, has also been removed. Those words which have become unintelligible or offensive, are exchanged for others, or are explained by notes when it is desirable that they should be retained. These variations, if they may be so called, were as necessary to render this work generally useful, as the adoption of modern orthography. The utmost care has been taken that the meaning of the author should be strictly preserved, and the various pieces have been collated with the best and earliest editions, or with manuscript copies. This has been done, that the meaning of the author might be given as nearly as possible, not from the first editions being the most correct, as they often abound with errors, for which the hurried or careless manner in which they were for the most part passed through the press, will readily account. The present reprints, it is believed, will be found to present the most correct text of these writers that has hitherto appeared. More than half of the pieces included in this collection, have not been reprinted since the sixteenth century, and a considerable portion is now printed for the first time."

The Volumes included under the title of

The British Reformers may be arranged in the following order:

Volume 1. Wickliff to Bilney.
2. Tindal, Frith, and Barnes.
3. Edward VI., Parr, Balnaves, &c.
4. Latimer.
5. Hooper.
6. Bradford.
7. Ridley and Philpot.
8. Cranmer, Rogers, Careless, &c.
9. Knox.
10. Becon.
11. Jewell.
12. Fox, Bale and Coverdale.

By order of the Executive Committee.

Wm. M. ENGLES, Editor.

CONTENTS.

Page.

LIFE of John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury 1

A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of certain Sermons which bishop Jewell preached at Salisbury, A. D. 1570 35

An Exposition upon the two Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

The first epistle to the Thessalonians . . 83

The second epistle to the Thessalonians . . 188

Jewell's Apology, A. D. 1562 289

Part I. Contains a brief account of the opposition which truth and true religion have met with in all ages, with some notice of the imputations cast upon the Protestants 291

II. Contains a statement of the doctrines held by English Protestants 302

III. States the causes whence heresieshave arisen, and the ages in which they have prevailed . 315

IV. Gives an account of the rule, lives, and conduct of the popes, and other members of the church of Rome, who have asserted themselves to be the only head and members of the holy catholic church 322

V. Is concerning the opinions maintained by the ancient fathers and councils, with a comparison between some of the protestant and popish tenets 344

VI. Explains the estimation in which Protestants held the councils and decrees of the primitive church, and shows that the Papists in reality had little regard either for them or for the Holy Scriptures 358

Page

Extracts from bishop Jewell's Defence of the Apology, in answer to Harding the Jesuit.

The fathers and the Scriptures . . . 384
Of the authority of the fathers . . . 386
Salvation by faith alone 388
Of faith and assurance, or certainty of salvation . 395
On free will 399
The planting of Christianity in Britain . 400
On the Protestant martyrs 402
The Protestant church, how Catholic . . 408
The sacrifices of the church of God . . 410
Address to Harding 411

Extract from Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer. On the Sacrifice of Christ 413

An Epistle, written by John Jewell, bishop of Sarum, to Scipio, a Gentleman of Venice, in answer to a Letter in which the latter complains of the kingdom of England, for not appearing in the Council of Trent, nor excusing that absence by letters 415

Sermons—Romans xiii. 12 449
Romans vi. 19 470

Extracts from other Sermons.

Christian union 483
The zeal to be shown by ministers for the salvation of souls 484
The acceptable time 485

LIFE OF JOHN JEWELL,

Bishop of Salisbury.

John Jewell was born May 24th, 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berry Nerber, in the north of Devonshire. His father was of an ancient family, but not wealthy, and having ten children, John, the youngest son, was indebted in early life to some benevolent friends for the assistance which enabled him to pursue his studies. He received the rudiments of education at several schools; in the last of these, Barnstaple, he had for his school-fellow Harding, who afterwards was his most zealous and bitter antagonist.

Jewell was of an amiable disposition; at an early age he gave indications of great talent, and an earnest desire for knowledge. When thirteen, he was entered at Merton college in Oxford, where his first tutor was a Mr. Burrey, "a man meanly learned, and somewhat tainted with popery." This tutor having another pupil, committed Jewell to the care of Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, then of Merton college, "who being desirous, with all other wholesome learning, to season his tender years with pure religion, took occasion often before him to dispute with Burrey about controverted points; and intending to compare the translations of the bible by Coverdale and Tindal, gave him Tindal's to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's. Thus he early brought his pupil to a close acquaintance with the scriptures. During this collation, Parkhurst observed such indication of talent in Jewell, that he exclaimed, "Surely, Paul's cross will one day ring of this boy," a presage which was fully realized in the event.

While Jewell was at Merton college the plague broke out at Oxford, in consequence of which he removed to Croxham, where, by lodging in a low, damp room, and pursuing his studies in the night with too much ardour, he caught a cold, which settled in his limbs, and affected him with a lameness that attended him to his grave. In August, 1539, by the interest of his friends, he was removed to Corpus Christi college, where he met with encouragement, but also experienced the effects of envy from some of his fellows, who often suppressed his exercises, substituting others more resembling their own. In October 1540, Jewell took his first degree with very great applause. He continued to prosecute his studies with increased vigour, beginning at four in the morning, and continuing till ten at night, needing some person to remind him of his necessary food. His reputation for learning was such, that Mr. Parkhurst committed his own son to the care of his former pupil for a time, till Serles, vicar of St. Peter's, Oxford, a

zealous enemy to all innovation, succeeded in separating them. We are told that he was alarmed at Jewell's design to instruct his pupil in Greek, the study of which was then considered almost a certain proof of heresy. The college appointed Jewell reader of humanity and rhetoric, which duty he discharged with much ability; but his example taught far more than any precept. He read many ancient authors, and was accustomed to write something every day, often saying, "Men acquired learning more by frequently exercising their pens, than by reading many books." He endeavoured to express himself with fluency, neatness, and force of argument, rather than by flowery expressions, or well turned periods. "His only recreations from study were studious," his time being spent either in giving instruction, disputations, or in meditating upon what he had learned.

In 1544, Jewell commenced master of arts, the expense being defrayed by Parkhurst who then held the valuable rectory of Cleve, in Gloucestershire. He often invited Jewell and other scholars to his house, where he entertained them liberally, and seldom dismissed them without presents. One time especially, he came into their chamber early in the morning, and seizing their purses said, "What money, I wonder, have these miserable beggarly Oxonians." Finding them "pitifully lean and empty, he stuffed them with money till they became both fat and weighty."

After the accession of Edward VI. the Reformation proceeded more regularly, and with greater rapidity. Peter Martyr was invited from Germany, and settled as professor of divinity at Oxford. Jewell profited much by this appointment, and with the help of short-hand characters, which he invented, was able to take down nearly the whole of the lectures. In May, 1549, Martyr was interrupted in his lectures by Dr. Smith, a bigoted papist; a tumult arose, and Martyr challenged Smith to a regular public disputation. Smith, however, fled to Scotland, but some other popish doctors accepted the challenge, and a sharp disputation ensued respecting the Lord's Supper. It was conducted with some regularity; being committed to writing by Jewell, it was afterwards published, and is appended to the English translation of Martyr's Common Places. It has also been printed by Fox, and in other forms.

In 1551, Jewell took his degree of bachelor of divinity, when he preached a Latin sermon, from 1 Peter, iv. 11. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," &c. At this time he took a small living near Oxford, called Sunningwell, more from a desire to do good than for the salary, which was but small. He walked thither once a fortnight, on foot, though with some difficulty, from his lameness. He also preached publicly and privately, both in his own college and in the university. His abilities now procured him many friends, one of whom named Curtop, a fellow of his own college, allowed him forty shillings a year, then a considerable sum. Another

person named Chambers, who was intrusted with the distribution of moneys collected in London to assist poor scholars allowed him six pounds a year for the purchase of books.

These "halcyon days of peace" were soon terminated. Jewell was one of the first who felt the effects of the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled from his college by the fellows, upon their own authority, before the laws were passed for the restoration of popery. The charges against him were, 1. That he was a follower of Peter Martyr. 2. That he had preached contrary to popery. 3. That he had taken orders according to the recent laws; which, however, still remained in force. His principal offence in reality appears to have been, his refusal to be present at the mass. That Jewell's character and conduct were blameless appears from the testimony of Morwen, the president of the college, who said, "I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith I hold thee a heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel! Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran!" A stronger commendation cannot be desired. It is probable that some personal feeling occasioned this prompt expulsion of Jewell. Dr. Morwen, and two of the fellows, had been suspended and imprisoned for a short time in 1552, by order of the council, for not using the protestant service book. During their suspension Jewell was appointed to govern the college.

The following is a translation of Jewell's farewell:—

"In my last lectures I have imitated the custom of famished men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you, contrary to my former usage, with much unpleasant and ill prepared discourse; for I have incurred, I see, the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I leave to their consideration. This I am sure of, that those who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their power. But as for me, I yield to the times, and if they can derive any delight to themselves from my calamity, I hinder them not from it. But as Aristides, when he went into exile and forsook his country, prayed that they might nevermore think of him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow-collegians, and what can they wish for more? Pardon me, my hearers, if it grieve me thus to be torn against my will from that place, where I have passed the first part of my life, where I have lived pleasantly, and have been in some honour and employment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery by one word? Wo is me,—with my extreme sorrow I at last speak it—that I must say, Farewell my studies, farewell to these houses, farewell thou pleasant seat of learning, farewell to delightful conversation with you, farewell young men, farewell lads, fare-

well fellows, farewell brethren, farewell ye beloved as my own eyesight, farewell all—Farewell."

Jewell was now reduced to poverty and distress, but for a time found shelter in Broadgate Hall, where many scholars resorted to him, and the society, by which he had been expelled, began to lament his loss. Of this they were reminded by Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, who when the deacon bragged that their college alone had kept their treasure and Romish ornaments during the late reigns, told them they had done so indeed, but, they had lost a *jewel* far more precious than any they had preserved.

By the influence of some friends, Jewell was appointed orator to the university. In this capacity he was soon after called to write a congratulatory address to the new queen. In expressing it he imitated the sentiments of the Roman Senators on the death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius.* He managed this with much ability, alluding also to the queen's promise to the men of Norfolk and Suffolk, that she would not change the religion established by the late king. It is recorded, that while Jewell was reciting this address to Dr. Tresham, the vice chancellor, the great bell of Christ Church, which the latter had caused to be re-cast, and had christened a few days before, according to the popish ritual, by the name of Mary, began to toll. Hearing this call to his beloved mass, the doctor exclaimed, "O delicate and sweet harmony, O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleases my ears!" and Jewell's pen was forced to give place to the tinkling of this new lady.† Jewell, about this time, was one of the notaries appointed to assist Cranmer at his trial.

In these difficulties, Jewell went on foot to Cleve, to obtain Parkhurst's advice and assistance, but found he had left the country on the restoration of the mass. Poor Jewell was forced to return to Oxford, where he arrived almost dead from the fatigue of a long journey on foot, in bitter cold and snowy weather.

Two short letters, written by Jewell to his tutor Parkhurst, soon after the accession of Queen Mary, when the latter had been deprived of his benefice, and was in concealment, may interest the reader. The originals are in Latin; the first was dated October 15. "My Parkhurst, mine own Parkhurst, what may I suppose that you are doing at the present time. Are you dead or alive? Are you weeping (in fletu) or in the Fleet (fleto.)‡

* Skilfully uniting congratulations with expressions of regret.

† We learn from Fox that among other inducements to persuade his students to return to popery, Tresham promised them a valuable set of popish vestments, and "the lady bell of Bampton, which should make the sweetest ring in England."

‡ The Fleet prison, where many of the protestant ministers already were confined. This sort of play upon words was then common, even in the most serious compositions.

Assuredly, the equanimity of your mind ever was such that I cannot doubt but you account all these afflictions, whatever they are, as for good.—News with us there is none. Of old things there is too much. Unless it be troublesome to you, write I beseech you what is become of Harley,* how your own affairs stand, what you hope, and what you fear."

In another letter, dated 22d October, he writes, "Parkhurst, what shall I now write to you, or rather why should I be silent? I have now for a considerable time desired to know what you are doing, what you have done, and where you are. Although Cleve be taken from you, and all other matters are changed, yet I trust that your mind can neither be taken away nor changed."

Jewell's adversaries now combined to effect his destruction. Marshall, dean of Christ Church, who had changed his religion twice already, and did so again afterwards, felt Jewell's conduct to be a reproof to himself, and by the newly appointed inquisitors, sent a list of popish doctrines to which he was commanded to subscribe, upon pain of suffering the penalties of heresy. Jewell, "brought into such straits, having no other counsellors in this heavy encounter than horror without, and frailty within," being allowed no time or opportunity to consult his friends, or to consider the subject, took the pen, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" hastily subscribed his name in St. Mary's Church. But this did not mitigate the rage of his enemies. They knew his affection for Peter Martyr, and would be satisfied by nothing but his life. Jewell's case was now most lamentable, his friends forsook him on account of his sinful compliance, while his enemies pursued him like a wounded deer. In a critical moment he resolved to flee for his life. This resolution was taken just in time. Had he remained in Oxford another night, he would not have been suffered to escape, or had he followed the direct road to London, he would have been overtaken and brought back! But he missed his road, so that the pursuers were disappointed. He was found by Augustine Bernher, Latimer's faithful friend and attendant, lying upon the ground, almost dead with vexation, weariness, and cold. Bernher set him upon his own horse, and conveyed him to Mrs. Warcup, who was a zealous friend to the protestants, and to whom several of the letters of the martyrs are addressed. She entertained Jewell for a time, and then had him conducted in safety to London, where he lay concealed until he escaped to the continent by the assistance of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who supplied him with money, and procured him a passage.

Jewell arrived in safety at Frankfort, where he found several of his former friends, and other protestant exiles, by whom he

* Bishop of Hereford; he was deprived, and lived in concealment. He died near the end of Queen Mary's reign.

was received with much kindness. They rejoiced at his coming, which was unlooked for on account of his subscription to the doctrines of popery. They advised him publicly to confess his error; this he did openly before the congregation on the next Lord's day, after preaching a most excellent sermon, saying, "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand commit this wickedness." Having uttered these words with many tears, he offered up a fervent prayer to God almighty for his pardon, and afterwards besought the forgiveness of the church. All present were deeply affected, and ever afterwards esteemed him the more for his ingenuous repentance.

His biographer observes, "It is an easy thing for those that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those who have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' This great man's fall shall ever be my lesson, and if this glistening *jewel* were thus clouded and foiled, God be merciful to me a sinner."

Jewell had not been long at Frankfort when he was invited by Peter Martyr to come to him at Strasburg. Martyr was then settled there, having with some difficulty obtained permission to withdraw to the continent. Many at Oxford desired to proceed against him, but he had been invited to England upon the public faith. The restoration of popery pained him very deeply; hearing the students called to mass, and the tinkling of the sacring bell, used in that service, he exclaimed, with a sigh "That little bell overturns all my instructions." Four years afterwards the remains of Martyr's wife were taken from the grave by order of Cardinal Pole, at the procurement of Dr. Marshall, and buried in a dunghill!"*

Martyr felt much esteem for Jewell, and, having persuaded him to come to Strasburg, kept him as an inmate in his family. Jewell was serviceable in the preparation of Martyr's comment on the book of Judges, and was accustomed to read to him every day from the fathers, particularly Augustine, with whose works they both were much delighted. Grindal, Ponet, Sandys, and other eminent English protestant divines, then resided at Strasburg.

At this time Martyr was invited by the senate of Zurich to fill the office of Hebrew professor and expositor of scripture. He was accompanied by Jewell, who found Pilkington and several more of his exiled countrymen residing there. These exiles found a kinder reception among the Helvetian divines than among the Lutherans. The painful disputes respecting the sacrament had so embittered the minds of the latter, that

* After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they were restored to a more honorable place of sepulture, and mixed with the remains of St. Frideswide, that if popery were again restored, they might be secure from insult.

they treated the English exiles with much harshness, notwithstanding the interference of Melancthon in their favor. Those in Switzerland were chiefly supported by some London merchants, till Gardiner discovered their benefactors, whom he fined and punished, threatening that he would soon "make the exiles eat their fingers' ends for hunger;" this fate was, however, averted by the liberality of those who had afforded them protection. At this time Jewell appears to have visited Italy, and at Padua he contracted a friendship with Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, to whom he afterwards wrote respecting the council of Trent. During the four years of his exile, Jewell studied diligently, and consoled his companions; often saying, that while their brethren at home endured such bitter tortures and horrid martyrdoms, they could not reasonably expect to be at ease: but concluding always, "These things will not last for an age." When the troubles arose at Frankfort respecting the use of the English liturgy, Jewell endeavored to promote peace, though without success.

Queen Mary died on the 17th November, 1558, when Jewell and other English exiles hastened home. On their arrival they found affairs in much disorder, but tending rapidly to a revival of the reformation.

Without entering minutely into the history of that period, it may be stated, that during the life of her sister, Elizabeth had conformed outwardly to the Romish religion: but her attachment to the protestant faith was so well known that several attempts had been made by the bigoted Romanists to procure her death. She was preserved chiefly by the interference of king Philip, actuated by political considerations. The tidings of Mary's death, and the accession of Elizabeth, were received with a general demonstration of joy. On her approach to London she was met by the Romish bishops, whom she received with courtesy, excepting Bonner, from whom she turned with disgust. Elizabeth's situation was difficult. In natural disposition she resembled her father in many points, and would have been unwilling to submit to the usurpations of the popedom, even if the fate of her mother, and her own sufferings from the papists, had not been sufficient to give her an abhorrence of popery. But her feelings on the subject of religion were different from those of her pious brother. Elizabeth's judgment gave preference to the reformed faith, but she does not appear to have experienced that change of heart which he manifested. Her views therefore, were not so simple, nor her proceedings so decided, as the real followers of the truth desired. She had a strong regard for many points of a ceremonial nature maintained by the church of Rome, and she might have inclined to favour its principles still more, had not the pope expressed himself with much violence on being informed of her accession. He told the English resident at Rome that England was a dependence upon the Romish see; that, being illegitimate, Eliza-

beth could not succeed to the crown, that she deserved no favour from him; but if she would renounce her pretensions and refer the matter wholly to him, he would act towards her with fatherly affection, and would be as favorable as the dignity of the apostolic see permitted! Elizabeth and her councillors immediately broke off all intercourse with the court of Rome. In this affair, as in the papal proceedings towards Henry VIII., the reformation was facilitated by the conduct of the pontiffs themselves. Neither Elizabeth nor her father could brook the papal usurpations.

The persecutions were stopped immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, and the prisoners in confinement were speedily released. The exiles soon began to arrive, their brethren who had remained concealed came forward, and the doctrines of truth were again publicly set forth. But as the Romanists did not willingly relinquish their power much confusion prevailed. To prevent evil consequences, silence was imposed for a short time upon the divines of both parties, and some of the most bigoted papists, who endeavored to excite tumults, were imprisoned. The reformation now proceeded under the direction of the queen and the parliament; the authority of the pope was renounced, the persecuting statutes were repealed, and protestantism again became the religion of the land, for which succeeding generations are indebted to Elizabeth as the instrument. Many circumstances made it easier for her to pursue a different course; and, though she cannot be delineated as a follower of Christ, there is much cause for thankfulness that she was a protestant upon principle. As such, she afforded protection to the reformers, and was raised up to be "a nursing mother" to the protestant churches of England.

For farther general details of the English reformation, the reader must be referred to the histories of that period. Many events, however, are noticed in a valuable collection of letters from Jewell to Martyr and other continental reformers, preserved at Zurich. These were printed by Burnet, from authenticated copies, sent to him by the public authorities of that city. Some account of this correspondence may be here introduced, as the letters present a lively delineation of the difficulties with which the reformers had to contend in the early part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and exhibit Jewell's sentiments and views upon many points.

In a letter written by Jewell, January 26th, 1559, while on his journey homewards, he states that Sandys and others had arrived in England, where they were well received by the new queen, and that several bishoprics were void.* He mentions bishop White's funeral sermon for queen Mary, from the text "I praised the dead more than the living," and says he had

* Several Romish bishops died about the same time as queen Mary.

therein represented that it would be a good deal to kill the exiles. The queen had prohibited both parties from preaching; which some accounted for because at the time there was only one protestant preacher in London, others said that it was to prevent disputes about ceremonies. He adds, "Whatever it be, I wish that our people may not proceed with too much prudence and policy in the cause of God."

On March the 20th, Jewell writes that he arrived in England on the fifty-seventh day after he left Zurich, which appears to have been about the middle of January. He had not found matters in so good a state as he expected. As yet the pope's authority was not cast off; as yet true religion was not restored; masses were still said; the Romish bishops displayed the same pomp and insolence, and were a great hinderance to the reformation. The queen openly favoured their cause; but was deterred from any innovations by the leaders of her council and the Spanish ambassador; however, she proceeded with prudence, courage, and piety, though slower than they could wish. A public disputation was to be held between the leading protestant clergy and the papists, in which the former intended to maintain that it is contrary to the word of God, for the public prayers and administration of the sacrament to be in a tongue unknown to the people. He mentions that the queen spoke with much esteem of Martyr, and read his letters repeatedly with much pleasure. Brooks, the popish bishop of Gloucester, a man of impure life, had lately died, and when dying exclaimed that he was damned.

On Friday, 31st March, the disputation was held. It had been previously settled that all the arguments should be in writing. This the Romanists evaded; and being permitted to state their reasons orally, Dr. Cole spoke at considerable length, with much vehemence and gesticulation, and was continually prompted by his associates. Dr. Horne, afterwards bishop of Winchester, then read the document he had prepared on the part of the protestants; it was temperate, able, and convincing. The conference was then adjourned till the following Monday, when the Romanists desired again to go over the subject already discussed, and did every thing in their power to cause irritation and delay. They refused to proceed in the regular course which had been agreed, and finally broke up the conference. By this conduct they much injured their cause in the public estimation.

On the 6th of April, Jewell sent Martyr an account of this public disputation, full particulars of which are given by Fox. Jewell was one of the persons appointed to take a part in the discussion, and earnestly desired that such conferences might be continued, in order that the truth should clearly appear. He describes Dr. Cole as reproaching the protestants in the most abusive manner. The subject first in dispute was respecting prayers in an unknown tongue. With much solemnity, Cole

asserted that the apostles had divided their work into the eastern and western churches. The first, he said, was assigned to Peter and Paul, who directed that all belonging to the Roman church, that is nearly the whole of Europe, should be taught in Latin. The eastern churches were assigned to the other apostles, and there all was to be taught in Greek. He was not afraid to urge one of the most obnoxious dogmas of popery, declaring that it was not expedient that the people should understand the public worship. Ignorance, he said, was the mother of real piety! At such arguments, Jewell rightly supposed that Martyr would smile.

On April the 28th, Jewell wrote again to his beloved friend. He speaks of the earnestness with which the bishops contended in support of popery, whereby the progress of truth was delayed, and the cause of religion hindered. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, had openly contended in parliament that the Nazarites, the prophets, the apostles, and Christ himself, were monks! There was a design for seizing the bishops' manors, and endowing them instead with the impropriations formerly belonging to the monasteries. Schools, and matters connected with learning, were neglected. Some much desired to unite more closely with the Lutherans; but they had exhibited their articles of religion and doctrine to the queen, and had not in the least departed from the Strasburg confession.*

The painful feelings under which Jewell wrote these letters, doubtless were rendered more severe by the earnestness with which Romish principles had been defended in the house of commons during this session of parliament, which terminated by dissolution on the 8th of May. It is true that much was effected towards the re-establishment of the reformation; but not without considerable difficulty. The unblushing effrontery with which the Romish members justified their proceedings considerably injured their cause. Among others, Dr. Story openly avowed the active part he had taken in persecuting the protestants, expressing his regret that he had not done much more! He told the house that he threw a fagot at the face of one of the martyrs, whom he called earwigs, when singing a psalm at the stake at Uxbridge, and set a bush of thorns under his feet. He added, that he saw nothing to be ashamed or sorry for, but that it grieved him they had laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root. By this, it was well known, he meant the queen herself! In the convocation, also, strong efforts were made to support the Romish faith.

On May the 15th, after the dissolution of the parliament, the bishops were summoned to attend the council, and admonished to obey the acts recently passed. On this occasion archbishop

* Or the Tetrapolitan Confession.

Heath reminded the queen of her sister's submission to the see of Rome, and her engagement, in consequence, to suppress heresy; from which he asserted Elizabeth could not recede. Queen Elizabeth made a memorable and spirited reply, which is given by Strype from the authority of sir Henry Sidney. She told the papal prelates that as Joshua declared, "I and my house will serve the Lord," so she and her realm were determined to serve Him, and added a full declaration of her firm resolve not to submit to the usurpation of the bishop of Rome. This much encouraged the supporters of the reformation, and justifies Jewell's statements respecting the queen. The Romish bishops shortly after were deprived, but were suffered to live in retirement. Even Bonner was only imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he lived till his death in 1569, abhorred and execrated by all good men, but indulging in gluttony and libertinism. The popular indignation at his cruelties was so great, that his body was committed to the grave by night, lest his remains should be insulted by some whose friends or relatives he had caused to be burned.

In one of his letters Jewell writes that Bonner, when imprisoned in the Tower, addressed some criminals also confined there, as "friends and neighbors," upon which one of them called him a beast, and told him to go to the place he deserved, and find his friends there; adding, "I killed but one man, upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence."

Of the whole number of the Romish clergy in England, fourteen bishops, thirty-four other dignitaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and less than two hundred priests and other ecclesiastics refused their assent to the measures of reformation; the rest all complied, at least outwardly. The few monastic establishments which had been refounded were now broken up. The Spanish ambassador obtained permission to transfer the inmates of three of them to the continent, where they afterwards assisted the conspirators against Elizabeth. On the 21st of June the English liturgy was again restored. Shortly after, the vacant sees were filled by protestants.

On his arrival in England, Jewell was received by Nicholas Culverwell, a citizen of London, residing in Thames-street, with whom he abode three months. The lord Williams, of Thame, being ill, then sent for him, and with him he stayed some time, during which he probably visited Oxford.

On May 22d, Jewell wrote to Bullinger. He was encouraged by the queen's recent proceedings, and says, "That you exhort us to proceed with activity and courage is a spur not only acceptable, but also almost necessary. For we now have to do, not only with adversaries, but also with friends who fell from us in late years, and united with the enemy, and who now oppose us much more strongly and obstinately." The Spaniards

had much corrupted the morals of the nation; but the protestant clergy did and would do what they could. God would bless their efforts, and give increase; but as yet they hardly appeared to be returned from exile. He adds, "We have a prudent and pious queen who favours us. Religion is restored to the same state as in king Edward's time; to which I doubt not your letters and exhortations, and those of your state, have much contributed." He then mentions that the queen did not wish to be styled or addressed as head of the English church. He laments the state to which the universities had been brought. At Oxford there were hardly two persons of their sentiments: Soto and the other Spanish friar had so completely rooted up all that Martyr had so well planted. It seemed scarcely possible that such devastation could have been made in so short a period. He adds, "Wherefore, although it would give me great pleasure to see in England even a dog belonging to Zurich, I cannot at this time wish you to send your young people to us, either for learning or religion, unless you desire to have them returned wicked and barbarians."

Lord Russell was exerting himself to promote religion. He was sensible of the kindness the exiles had experienced at Zurich, and anxiously inquired how he could send their benefactors a grateful acknowledgement. Jewell replied that nothing would be more acceptable to them than for his lordship studiously to endeavor to propagate Christ's religion; which lord Russell promised to do.

In another letter, written about the same period, Jewell laments the indifference of the protestants when compared with the recent zeal of the papists. He says, "Christ was then expelled by his enemies; he is now kept out by his friends." He regretted the queen's retaining a crucifix in her chapel.

In August, 1559, he wrote with better expectations; the queen was well animated, the people everywhere "thirsting for religion." He was about to commence a visitation of the western counties. In this letter he also mentions the probability of his being appointed bishop of Salisbury. The visitation here referred to was general throughout England; its objects were the reforming many abuses which still remained, and promoting the knowledge of true religion.

From this visitation Jewell returned on the 1st of November, and wrote to Martyr the day following. He says, "We found everywhere the minds of the people well inclined towards religion, even where least expected. The manner in which the harvest and forests of superstition sprung up in the dark Marian days is beyond belief. We found everywhere superstitious relics of saints, the nails with which in their folly they believe Christ was fastened, and I know not how many pieces of the holy cross! The number of witches and sorcerers is increased everywhere. The cathedrals are mere dens of robbers; or any worse or fouler appellation may be given them.

If there be any obstinate malice, it is among the priests; those especially who were formerly of our opinions." Many such ministers were deprived. He adds, "The papal army has fallen almost of itself; unless help be wanting, we cannot be apprehensive as to religion." On the same day he wrote to another correspondent, who had congratulated him on his appointment. He says, that as yet he was only nominated; and expresses his hope that the bishops would be pastors, labourers, and watchmen. To promote this the larger revenues were to be reduced, so that they would not be expected to live with such pomp as formerly, but might have more leisure to attend to Christ's flock.

On the 5th of November he wrote again, lamenting the earnestness of some about certain rituals and vestments, which he wishes were prohibited. He regrets the little care taken with respect to education. There was much talk that Martyr would again be invited over; but Jewell feared that the Saxon, or Lutheran influence would prevail.

On the 16th of the same month he wrote in a more gloomy strain. Differences had begun to prevail on the subject of ceremonials. He says, that foolish ceremonies still abounded. The silver crucifix remained in the queen's chapel.* The universities, Oxford especially, where Martyr had taught, still lay desolate, without piety, without religion, without teachers, or any attempt to promote literature. Many persons desired that Martyr should come over; Jewell wished it, but such was the uncertain, fluctuating, unstable, "island-like" state of affairs, that he would rather hear of Martyr's safety at a distance than see him present and in danger. At that time the state of political affairs was very threatening; an invasion from France being expected.

After his return from the visitation, Jewell was consecrated bishop of Salisbury. He had not sought this promotion. Being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the office, he often repeated the words, "He that desireth a bishopric, desireth a work." (1 Tim. iii. 1.) "And surely," adds his biographer, "if ever to any, to him his bishopric was a continual 'work' of ruling and governing; not merely by the pastoral staff of his jurisdiction in his consistory, but also in the court of men's consciences, by the golden sceptre of God's word preached." He found his diocese in a most disordered state. The revenues had been so miserably impoverished by the conduct of his popish predecessor, bishop Capon, that he complained he could not have the assistance he needed: "There was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man. For the *Capon* has devoured all; because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings."

* This crucifix occasioned many apprehensions to the reformers. See Tracy's letter respecting it. Tindal, p. 348

The additional labour which in consequence fell upon Jewell hastened him to the grave.

His next letter to Martyr is dated 4th February, 1560. The controversy about crucifixes was very bitter. Many good men were inclined to favour them. The following day there was to be a conference on the subject. He expected not to be a bishop when he wrote again, being informed that none would be allowed to retain that office who did not consent to crucifixes being set up in all the churches.

March the 5th, Jewell wrote that a change appeared visible among the people. This had been much promoted by inviting the congregations to sing psalms in public worship, according to the plan generally adopted upon the continent. It began at one church in London, St. Antholin's, and the example was soon adopted in others. At Paul's cross sometimes there were six thousand persons singing together. The Romish priests were become objects of derision, and the popish bishops were called executioners to their faces.

From the time of the conference being broken off by the Romanists, Jewell had been anxious publicly to expose the errors of popery, and in November 1559, he preached at Paul's cross, when he boldly attacked the pretensions of the Romish church, respecting the antiquity of its doctrines. He spoke against these claims in a manner which even many protestants apprehended he would hardly be able to support. But Jewell well knew the ground he had taken. On the Sunday before Easter, March 30, 1560, he again preached at Paul's cross, to an immense congregation. His text was 1 Cor. xi. 23. "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, &c." when he referred to his former sermon, and repeated his arguments, complaining that although many had spoken against them in private, no scholar had come forward to meet him publicly. He summed up, by giving his adversaries a challenge in twenty-seven particulars, which he had a short time previously stated in a sermon at court. They are as follows:—

"If any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or holy scripture, or any one example in the primitive church during the first six hundred years, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved—1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or may be

in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine. 11. Or that then the priest divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himself alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, 'ex opere operato,' (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord, and God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread and wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught.) 24. Or that when Christ said, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' the word, 'hoc' pointed not to the bread, but to an individuum vagum, (or an unascertained quality,) as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shows of bread and wine are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience. The conclusion is, that I shall THEN be content to hold and subscribe."

This sermon gave a most severe blow to the popish religion in England. Popery was generally odious for the barbarous cruelties so recently committed by the professors of that faith upon persons of all ranks, however excellent in character, who had differed from the church of Rome during the late reign, but its claims to antiquity, although unfounded, were still credited by many. These claims bishop Jewell now disputed, and a memorable controversy ensued.

This challenge, says his biographer, being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English papists both at home and abroad, none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Louvain, Douay, or St. Omers, in the Low-Country provinces belonging to the king of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt bishop Jewell and Dr. Henry Cole, the late dean of St. Paul's; more violence followed in a book of Rastal's, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger, followed by Dorman and Marshall, who severally took up the argument to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by Nowell, and the last by Calfhill; but these were only preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr. John Harding, one of the divines of Louvain, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar school, and studied in the same university; both were zealous protestants in the time of king Edward, and both relapsed to popery in the time of queen Mary; Jewell for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it. Jewell's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, he rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than he was before; but Harding's was like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again to his former standing, so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness. Some former differences had been between them in the church of Salisbury, whereof the one was prebendary, and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishop's visitation of that cathedral, in which Harding had the worst, and it was a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter.

Harding's first work in answer to this challenge was printed in 1564. Jewell replied again to Harding in 1565, to which Harding wrote a rejoinder in 1566, and another in 1567. The bishop made a further reply in 1567, showing how abundantly he was able to make good his challenge. Several others zealously wrote against Jewell's book besides those already mentioned. Saunders discoursed upon some detached passages, and Stapleton wrote a great volume upon Jewell's marginal notes. Harding's language often was abusive; in a letter written to Jewell in 1565, he thus writes:—"Make ye not ministers of tag and rag for the Spirit's sake? Clap me not they the bare bible upon the desk, and preach thereupon after their own sense?" But such expressions are as nothing compared with much of his railing against Jewell and the reformation.*

* During the reign of Edward VI. Harding was chaplain in the family of the duke of Suffolk, and very zealous against popery. Previously to the accession of queen Mary he earnestly exhorted a congregation in London, to continue steadfast in the truth, if persecution should arise. But

Another and more important branch of this controversy arose from a work which will ever remain as one of the records of the English reformation. In the year 1562 bishop Jewell published, The Apology of the Church of England, in Latin, which was sent forth with the queen's authority, and by the advice of some of the bishops, as a public confession of the catholic and christian faith of the English church, and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of Rome. Also as an answer to the calumnies which were raised against the English church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of Trent then sitting.

This apology being published during the time of the last meeting of the council of Trent, it was read there, and seriously considered. Great threats were made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook the task, but neither of them proceeded therein.

The book rapidly spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded. It found a passage into Rome itself; and was translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Dutch languages, and into Greek. It was translated into English by the lady Bacon, wife of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal of England.

The apology well deserves the character Humfrey has given of it,—his words are these: "It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the christian faith (or creed,) the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the English church. If the order be considered, nothing can be better arranged; if the perspicuity, nothing can be more clear; if the style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more select; if the arguments, nothing stronger."

Bishop Jewell was especially encouraged to publish this apology by Peter Martyr, with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when in exile. Martyr lived to see the book which he so much desired; he died at Zurich, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had expressed his esteem of this work in a letter which is subjoined to the book in the subsequent editions. In 1564 the university of Oxford conferred upon Jewell, though absent, the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect

he quickly recanted, and a letter addressed to him by lady Jane Grey, still remains a testimony against him. The triumph of popery was short, but Harding was one who preferred adhering to his new principles, rather than becoming an outcast from both parties. He retired to Louvain, where he prepared replies to bishop Jewell's challenge and apology. He was the principal writer on the part of the Romanists, but his misrepresentations, appeals to spurious works, and his mere assertions in the place of arguments, must be evident to every candid examiner and lover of the truth.

and honour shown him, who was so eminently employed then in the service and defence of the church.

The apology engaged Harding's attention even earlier than the challenge. In 1564 he printed what he called a confutation of Jewell's book, a defence of which the bishop forthwith began, and it was finished on the 27th of October, 1567, as appears from the epistle to Harding at the conclusion.

Harding also put out another piece, which he entitled, A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c.; this was a cavilling reply to some passages in the Defence of the apology. As it did not deserve an answer by itself, Jewell replied to it by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the 11th of December 1569, and at the same time dedicated his works to the queen; Harding having declared that she was offended with bishop Jewell for thus troubling the world.

It may be further remarked, that this apology was accounted as the public confession of the catholic and christian faith of all Englishmen. It shows their agreement in doctrine with the other reformed churches, and is printed as such in the Harmony and Sylloge of the Confessions. Although the work of one person, it was referred to by English protestants as a public summary and statement of their doctrines.

We now have to notice bishop Jewell's epistle to Scipio, respecting the council of Trent. The conduct of pope Paul IV. has been already mentioned. He was succeeded by Pius IV., who determined to try gentler methods. He sent an abbot named Parapaglia with courteous letters, and directions to make large offers to the queen if she would be reconciled to the see of Rome. If she would have yielded the supremacy the pope would have given way on other points. Elizabeth was not inclined to listen to any such proposals; the question was already decided, and the pope's authority rejected. She would not suffer Parapaglia even to land in England. A similar refusal was given in the following year to a nuncio sent by the pope to invite Elizabeth and the English bishops to the council of Trent. The emperor Ferdinand also in vain exhorted her to return to "the old religion," as he termed the doctrines of popery. Scipio, a native of Venice, having heard of the nuncio's ill success, wrote to Jewell, whom he had known when in exile, complaining of the neglect shown by England towards the council. Jewell well knew how little the council of Trent resembled the general councils of the early centuries, and replied, so ably exposing the proceedings of that assembly, that no Romanist attempted an answer.

Another subject connected with the English reformation, and in which Jewell took considerable interest, must now be noticed. By the commencement of 1561 the reformation was brought back to the state wherein it was in the latter years of king Edward; for a more minute description Strype refers to

the account of the former period written by Ridley.* Burnet, however, considers that it had rather retrograded, and certainly on some points the errors of popery were not so decidedly pointed out, and the more zealous protestants had cause for dissatisfaction. There evidently had been a desire to avoid giving offence to the Romanists, some expressions in the litany had been omitted from a desire to retain them in conformity, and this succeeded to a great extent, till the pope absolutely forbad them to continue to worship with protestants. But the queen on New year's day took occasion to express her detestation of Romish pictures and images of saints, by a severe rebuke to the dean of St. Paul's, who had caused a new prayer-book with beautiful engravings and pictures to be laid for her majesty's use. It is not improbable that Elizabeth, aware that many of the reformers were dissatisfied with her for not having proceeded far enough in the work of reformation, took the opportunity to express her disapproval of Romish superstitions. Strype relates the good effects of this public rebuke. The clergy and church-wardens of the parishes in and about London, caused all paintings that seemed Romish and idolatrous, to be washed from the church walls, and suitable texts taken from the holy scriptures to be written in their stead.

In January 1562, a memorable convocation assembled. The thirty-nine articles were agreed to, and unanimously decreed. Then followed a discussion respecting certain rites and ceremonies. On the 13th of February six articles were proposed to the lower house of convocation. 1. That only the Sundays and principal feasts of Christ, should be kept as holydays. 2. That the minister in time of prayer turn his face to the people and read distinctly.† 3. That it should be optional whether the cross in baptism should be used. 4. That kneeling at the sacrament might be left to the discretion of the ordinaries within their respective jurisdictions. 5. That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying divine service and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice, but that no minister should say service, or minister the sacraments, unless in a comely garment or habit. 6. That the use of organs be removed. Forty-three persons approved these articles, who with proxies made fifty-eight votes; those who opposed were thirty-five persons, making with proxies, fifty nine votes, consequently the articles were rejected. Those who opposed were unwilling that any changes should be made in the rites and appointments of king Edward's liturgy. The fourth article was particularly debated. Among the approvers of these articles were some of the most distinguished divines of the English church.

* See Ridley's last farewell, p. 141.

† This was particularly opposed to the practice of the Romish mass, where the officiating priest is rather a performer before the assembly present, than a leader and director of their devotions.

Various other suggestions were made by the lower house of convocation, which are given in Strype's annals, but although these requests were not considerable, much importance was attached to them, and they were not acceded to.

The want of sufficient ministers was so much felt, that persons were selected from the laity to read the service and the homilies, and to promote the welfare of the parishes where they officiated, till "learned ministers" should be placed there. Orders for their guidance were drawn up and signed by several of the bishops; among them was bishop Jewell.* Dean Nowell's catechism was allowed for the use of schools, as a brief summary of the doctrine owned and professed in the reformed church of England. Some acts were also prepared for the due observance of public worship, and the Lord's day. The proceedings of this convocation induced several leading ecclesiastics to be more strict in their requirements of conformity, while the rejection of all the propositions of those who now began to be distinguished by the honourable appellation of puritans, excited considerable dissatisfaction, and serious differences speedily prevailed. But to pursue these details would lead us from the more immediate subject of these pages.†

That Jewell disapproved the conduct of the prevailing party is evident from his writings, while from the same authority we find he considered that their opponents went too far. He was, however, too fully occupied to take any prominent part in these discussions; while his christian and kindly feelings rendered him unwilling to join in the harsh measures then adopted. It certainly appears that the line of conduct pursued by the leading protestant clergy in the reign of Elizabeth, evidently tended to reduce every sort of public or social worship of God to one precise form of expression.‡ In this they adopted a different course from that which the church of Rome had hitherto pur-

* The papists endeavoured to cast a reproach upon the reformation by alleging the secular occupations of these teachers. Calfhill well replied, "Grant that the inferior sort of our ministers were such as these men in spite imagine—such as came from the shop, from the forge, from the wherry, from the loom;—should ye not find more sincerity and learning in them, than in all the rabble of popish chaplains, their mass-mongers, and their soul-priests? I lament that there are not as many good preachers as parishes. I am sorry that some so unskilful are preferred, but I never saw a simple reader admitted into our church, but in the time of popery you should have found in every diocese forty sir Johns (romish priests) in every respect worse."

† The reader may be referred to Strype's Annals, and Neal's History of the Puritans.

‡ This appears the more evident from the disuse into which the protestant primer then began to fall. The primer is a small work containing prayers and devotional pieces suited for various occasions. It had been reformed in the reign of Edward VI., but after the accession of Elizabeth began to be laid aside, although it contained many valuable prayers suited for social and private use.

sued, which allowed the use of various formularies; every religious order had its peculiar rites and services, and even now the Romish authorized books contain a considerable variety of offices of devotion.* Had more latitude in matters professedly indifferent been allowed to some of the most valuable characters amongst the reformers, such as Coverdale, Fox, Turner, and others, spiritual religion doubtless would have been promoted.

Another letter written by Jewell to Martyr, on the 7th of February, 1562, deserves attention. Speaking of the temporizing course adopted by some who were in authority on the continent, and of their inclination to the Interim,† he adds, "Now that the perfect light of the gospel has burst forth, the vestiges of former errors, with the rubbish, and even the dust which remained, should as much as possible, be taken away. How I wish that we could have obtained this with respect to the linen stole. For in doctrines we have gone to the quick, and are not a nail's breadth from you therein."‡ The Marian bishops were

* Their error was a mistake common in that day. As it has been expressed by Dr. Chalmers, "The theologians of that day supposed that christianity could not flourish, nay, that it could not exist, save in the one framework of one certain and defined ecclesiastical constitution, and hence with us (in Scotland) that there would be no light and no efficacy in the ministrations of the gospel, unless they were conducted according to the forms, and in the strict model and framework of the presbytery!" The Rev. E. Bickersteth, quoting the above remark, adds, "The same thing was seen among episcopalians. There has now surely been ample experience in the history of the church, to raise us above this littleness of the carnal mind, to those higher regions which show us the true character and glory of the christian church."—*Christian Student*, p. 279,

† A formulary of doctrine set forth by the imperial authority, in the vain hope of reconciling protestantism and popery.

‡ Strype says, "The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of exile, as Cox, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Jewell, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first return, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament, and the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter upon their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry for some rites, which, as they considered, were but few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon consideration that by filling these rooms in the church, they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists; which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them." Annals, I. i. p. 263.

Beza, however, considered that the evil was greater than the Swiss divines apprehended. In a letter to Bullinger, the substance of which is given by Strype (Annals, I. ii. p. 171,) he says, that he thought "that the business had been about caps, and such external matters; but he afterwards understood that the controversy was much different." He urged that Gualther should be sent by the divines at Zurich, personally to sue the queen and the bishops to remedy these evils. The Swiss divines did indeed interpose by letters, several of which are given by Strype and

then in the Tower; he speaks of them as a contumacious and untameable race, only to be restrained by force. He mentions his apology as lately published. He adds that the queen had determined not to send any one to the council of Trent; and speaks of a design to publish the reasons why none attended from England. He says, that, in his opinion, at that time no good could be promoted by those assemblies, nor would God make use of such means to diffuse the gospel. He also adverts to the affairs of Scotland, then a subject of much importance to England on account of the uncertainty respecting the succession.

Martyr died in the same year, and but few of Jewell's letters to the other reformers appear. He was now deeply occupied by his laborious writings, and in the care of his diocese. The differences at home continued and increased. They are noticed by Jewell in his letters to Bullinger.

But Jewell was not unmindful of his former friends at Zurich. He continued to correspond with them, and Strype mentions that in the year 1565, having received from Bullinger a copy of his comment upon Daniel, and a work upon Joshua, from Lavater, he sent them a present of twenty crowns to be disposed of as they thought fit. He also sent annually the same sum to Julius, who had been Martyr's friend and assistant. Soon afterwards, many foreigners, exiles for religion, took shelter in this country, and were assisted by Jewell and others.

In a letter to Bullinger, dated January 1566, Jewell attributes his less frequent correspondence to his numerous occupations, particularly the controversies with their foreign enemies, with whom he had to contend almost alone. The refugees at Louvain in particular, wrote most bitterly against himself. He then enters more particularly into the history of these controversies as already given. The distance of their respective dioceses, had so separated him from some of his former fellow exiles that he had not seen them for three years.

In another letter, dated February 1566, he thus expresses himself:—"The contention respecting the ecclesiastical linen garment is not yet at rest. It disturbs weak minds not a little. And I wish that all, even the slightest, vestiges of popery could be removed from the churches, and much more from the minds of all men. But at this time the queen cannot bear my change with respect to religion." Elizabeth's situation was one of great political difficulty. The pope had openly denounced her as a heretic, the Romanists in England were engaging in conspiracies against her life, and she was very apprehensive of evil consequences from any measures which should displease that large number of her subjects, who were not disposed to adopt the views either of the papists or the puritans. In the

Burnet, and although their advice was not followed by either party, their interference probably was in some degree beneficial.

following month, Jewell wrote again to Bullinger respecting some points to be noticed in his defence of the apology.

In another letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, February 29, 1667, he mentions that the Romish divines of Louvain were very clamorous, and that, he knew not why, they all attacked him, so that while engaged in answering them he must not be accounted idle. He then speaks of the debates respecting the succession which caused much discussion, and adds, "As to religion, the matter respecting vestments excites considerable disturbances. It is certain that the queen will not give way. Some of our brethren, indeed, contend respecting this matter as if all our religion turned upon that one point. So that they prefer to renounce their offices, and to leave the churches vacant, rather than to depart a very little from their opinions. Nor are they willing to be influenced by your writings, or those of Gualther, or other pious men. Let us, however, thank God that he has not suffered us to be agitated at this time by more important discussions. One only of our number, the bishop of Gloucester, (Cheyney,) openly and boldly declares his approbation of the Lutheran opinions respecting the eucharist." Although the subjects which then interested the puritans cannot be considered as trivial, yet any one who is acquainted with the painful results of the differences in Germany on the sacramental question, will fully enter into this expression of thankfulness on the part of Jewell, that the English reformation was not agitated or impeded by the disputes on that subject.*

In addition to Jewell's controversies with the Romanists already mentioned, his attention about this time was engaged by the bull of pope Pius V. lately sent into England, in which a curse was pronounced against the queen, her authority declared null and void, her subjects absolved from their allegiance and exhorted to rise in rebellion against her. Jewell replied to these doctrines in a series of sermons preached in his cathedral, the substance of which was printed under the title of A View of a seditious Bull, &c. This bull plainly showed to Elizabeth that she could not hope to reign in England but as a protestant queen, unless she would submit to all the doctrines of the church of Rome. The efforts of the papal court were directed to place a popish sovereign on the English throne, and the English papists were divided into two parties, which still

* Some of the English jesuits afterwards assumed the character of puritan ministers, that they might promote these differences. One, named Heath, a jesuit, was detected by a letter which he dropped while preaching in Rochester cathedral, in 1568. Amongst his papers was found a license from the pope to preach what doctrine the jesuits pleased, for the dividing of protestants. He was brother to Heath archbishop of York in the reign of queen Mary, and after preaching in various parts of England for six years, had applied to the dean of Rochester for preferment, who gave him a turn of preaching in the cathedral.

continue. One of these followed the papal mandates as blindly as any of the nations on the continent; the other admitted the secular jurisdiction of their sovereign, independent of papal authority.*

Jewell's last public labours appear to have been in the convocation, which met in the spring of 1571. It was then ordered, that the book of articles agreed upon in 1562 should be subscribed by all the clergy, and that the articles now again approved, should be printed under the superintendence of bishop Jewell. In this year also he preached a sermon at Paul's cross, in which he referred to the ceremonies and state of the church, and blamed the spirit in which some among the separatists acted. He mentioned this sermon when upon his death-bed.

His life now drew near to its close. He was naturally of a spare and thin habit of body, which he wore still further by his labours in study, writing, preaching, and travelling, He thus apparently hastened his death, before he was fifty years of age.

Bishop Jewell appears to have had a presentiment of his approaching departure. In the year 1570, in his letters to the bishop of Norwich, after he had certified him of the death of Dr. Alley, bishop of Exeter, he added these words, "And I must follow him;" and in another letter he said: "I would to God we might meet and talk together; but now it is too late, it makes not much matter; I hope we shall see one the other in heaven. Flux, flux, that is, in the German tongue, quick, quick, make haste; if you make any delay, I shall prevent you."

The same year that he died, February 3, he postscribed another letter thus: "There is a rumour of the calling a parliament, which if it be true, then perhaps we shall embrace one the other before death; my death, I say, not yours; for you shall yet in this life sing, the strong and immortal God."

The following account of the last days of bishop Jewell, is given by his biographer:—"The supernatural motions of God's Spirit within him in the end, became, as it were, naturally more effectual in the conclusion; and the last endeavours of grace in him were most vehement. For, after his return from a conference at London. he began a new and more severe visitation through his whole diocese than ever before, correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply, enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more circumspectly, and preaching oftener.

* These prrceedings of the pope caused insurrections of the Romanists and continual conspiracies against Elizabeth during the remainder of her reign, which led to severe enactments against popish recusants and the missionaries sent to England from Rome to advocate these treasonable doctrines. It has been justly observed by Mr. Townsend, that, "When the bull of deposition can be called a religious action, then may the self-defence of Elizabeth be denominated persecution—then only may the defenders of the bull be justly said to suffer for religion."

"By which restless labour and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low, that as he rode to preach at Lacock, in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health and strength's sake; saying, that such straining his body in riding and preaching, he being so exceedingly weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life; assuring him, that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replied, 'It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit;' seriously thinking upon the comfortable eulogy of his master, 'Happy art thou, my servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing.' Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people's expectation, he ascended the pulpit; and now nothing but spirit, his flesh being pined away and exhausted, read his text out of the fifth to the Galatians, 'Walk in the spirit;' and with much pains made an end of it.

"Presently after his sermon, his disease growing more upon him, forced him to take to his bed, and to think of his dissolution, as now not far off.* In the beginning of his extreme fits, he made his will, considering therein his brother and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces, being able no longer to hold fight with the disease, shrinking and failing, he called all his household about him, and, after an exposition of the Lord's prayer, thus began his sweet song:—

"'I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feel the arrows of death already fastened in my body; wherefore I am desirous, in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm his truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof; which, seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself, that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling. For while I visit the people of God, God my God hath visited me. With Mr. Harding, who provoked me first, I have contended in my writings, not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor, to my knowledge, to patronize any error, nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but, according to my poor ability, to do my best services to God and his church. My last sermon at Paul's cross, and conference about the ceremonies

* Strype says, that bishop Jewell died while on a journey to visit the diocese of Bristol, by direction of the primate. That diocese was then vacant; a former commission to bishop Cheyney, authorizing him to hold it in commendam with Gloucester, having been withdrawn in consequence of Cheyney's attachment to some of the tenets of the Lutherans, which had a tendency to popery.

and state of our church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren, who are of a contrary opinion, but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren, through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to convert or confound the head of all these evils, and ringleader of all rebellions, disorders, and schism, the bishop of Rome, who, wheresoever he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contention. I beseech him also long to preserve the queen's majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to his whole church unity and godly peace. Also, I beseech you all that are about me, and all others whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love, to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of my flesh, to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many others; now the time is come wherein I may, and desire, to be taught and strengthened by every one of you.'

"Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the 71st psalm, which begins thus: In thee, O Lord, I put my trust, let me never be confounded; himself joining, as well as he could, with them; and when they recited those words, Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth, he added, Thou only wast my whole hope; and as they went forward saying, Cast me not off in time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age and gray head, forsake me not, O God; he made this application to himself: He is an old man; he is truly gray-headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed. To which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God's Spirit, saying, 'Lord, take from me my spirit; Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace. Break off all delays; suffer thy servant to come unto thee; command him to be with thee; Lord, receive my spirit.'

"Here, when one of those who stood by prayed with tears that if it might stand with God's good pleasure, he would restore him to former health, Jewell, overhearing him, turned his eyes, as it were offended, and spake to him in the words of Ambrose: 'I have not lived so that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not my will, which is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, confound me not. This is my to-day; this day quickly let me come unto thee; this day let me see the Lord Jesus.'

"With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more; the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well; yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed towards heaven, till after a few fervent, inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it.* M. Ridley, the steward of his house, shut his eyes in the year of our Lord 1571, September 22, about three of the clock in the afternoon, when he was almost fifty years of age.

"Such was the life and death of bishop Jewell, a most worthy trumpet of Christ's glorious gospel. What now remains, but that we mournfully complain, in the words of Jerome, concerning the death of Fabiola: 'The spouse of Christ hath lost a most precious jewel.' Or rather, because he shined so bright in divine virtues, both in his life and death, we are to rejoice for his happy translation. This jewel is not lost, which Christ hath taken from off the ring of his spouse, which is his church, and set it in a crown of purest gold upon her head, which is himself the Saviour of his elect, where he shineth in glory for evermore. Lord, adorn and enrich continually thy church with such JEWELS; deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, and her neck with chains; make her borders of gold, with studs of silver. Amen."

Some other interesting particulars respecting bishop Jewell may now be inserted.

His memory was raised by art to the highest pitch of human possibility; for he could repeat faithfully any thing he had penned, as he had penned it, after once reading. By art his memory was made so firm in keeping things committed unto it, that he was wont to say that if he were to make a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, yet he could say all that he had provided to speak.

And so quick also was he in receiving, that when Parkhurst proposed unto him many barbarous and hard names out of a calendar, and Hooper forty strange words, Welsh, Irish, and outlandish terms, he, after once or twice reading at the most, and short meditating, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. What is yet more strange, when the lord keeper Bacon before the bishop of Norwich and others, at his own table, read only unto him the last clause of ten lines in Erasmus's paraphrase, confused and dismembered of set purpose, he, sitting silent for a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the sudden rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences, the right way and the contrary, without any stay or stumbling.

He professed to teach others this skill, and taught it to his tutor, Parkhurst, beyond the sea, insomuch that, spending but

* Ecclesiastes xii.

one hour in the day in it, in a very short time he learned all the gospels backward and forward, by the benefit of this artificial memory, setting his places and images in clue. Jewell placed a high value on the Institutions of Calvin, which he was accustomed to recommend to his friends—by industrious application, he had it almost entirely by heart.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not entirely rely upon it, but entered in common-place books whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic, and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes. These he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; but they were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscure that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he always kept a diary, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and extracted whatever was most important.

From hence it came to pass that when Harding, in their great controversy, abounded only in words, Jewell overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer; but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces. The truth is, as Dr. Heylin observes, that all the controversialists that followed were beholden to the indefatigable industry of this great leader. Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common-place books, that when he was to write his Defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust entirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions. Having first carefully read Harding's books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, aad then, by the directions of his common-place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write. This shows at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts; and is a just reprehension of the falsehood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies have

sprung up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts, for what may seem very pertinent to any purpose at a first reading, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before or follows after in the author. And few men are so exact in their first extracts, but through haste, inadvertence, or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived. Mental exertion is also increased by fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from an adversary, if the least mistake be made.

Bishop Jewell was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with the Italian tongue. As to the Latin, he wrote and spoke it with such elegance, politeness, purity, and fluency, that it might very well have been taken for his mother tongue. He took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth perfectly master of Horace, upon whom he wrote a large commentary, also Cicero, and Erasmus, whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, made extracts from, and imitated every day he lived, especially during his continuance at Oxford, and he was then wont also to declaim extempore to himself in Latin as he walked in the woods of Shotover or other secluded places. And when lady Bacon wrote him a letter in Greek, he replied in the same language. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators, and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians; above all others he esteemed Gregory Nazianzen, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile; in which, besides his conversation with Peter Martyr, and the other learned men at Strasburg and Zurich, and his society with Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York, who was his intimate companion almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the Alps into Italy, and he studied some time in Padua. By the acquaintance he contracted with signor Scipio, a person of note, with whom he afterwards corresponded respecting the council of Trent, he seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant, cheerful humour, extremely civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of such strict probity and virtue that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel. Though he was lame, yet till he became a bishop he travelled for the most part on foot, both at home and beyond the seas. He was contented in every condition; and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reasonable they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr. Bowen his

schoolmaster, he paid it to his name, and did good to all so called, for his sake, though they were not related to him.

Bishop Jewell was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came. He laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light, trifling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place.* Yet he was careful in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate rather than a sweet way of speaking.

In his sermon before the university, preached in the reign of king Edward VI., Jewell explained what he considered to be the office and duty of a minister of God's word, and in after life he manifested the same by his own example. In that discourse he showed, 1. That a preacher should speak. He enforced this from the words of scripture, and added, Let us do our endeavour, and leave the success unto the Lord. Then shall they if they die of so froward a mind that they will not hear, die in their own sin. Let us give the word, and God will give the Spirit. Let us plant and water, and in due time God will give the increase. For as it is our duty to instruct the people with words, so it belongeth to God to join unto his words faith and power. Such is the strength of the word of God, that to work nothing or to profit none is not possible. 2. He showed what was to be spoken, The truth, not lies; the scriptures, not fables; the precepts of the highest God, not the dreams of men. He referred to the words of St. Paul, "I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified."—Our heavenly Father would have his Son and his word to be taught. This is that river of water flowing abroad into life everlasting. This is that flesh, this is that blood of Jesus Christ, this is the only wholesome food of our souls, with this sword only the devil is overcome, with this stone only Goliath is laid along, with this maul alone the roughness and hardness of hearts is softened and overcome. Were it not for this, neither could religion flourish, nor faith be confirmed, nor the church kept within the limits of her duty. After showing the insufficiency of any other ground of confidence, he added, When we shall be placed before that dreadful judgment-seat, when all things shall burn—we shall then have refuge in Christ alone, then shall we use the aid and word of Christ alone. Our life, our soul, our salvation, is the matter in hand. The heavenly Father offereth himself unto us, and of his own accord meeteth us. Jesus Christ calleth every one of us, "Come unto me all ye that are grieved and I will refresh you." How blind are we if we see not, how blockish if we hear not, how miserable if we run from this! Jewell concluded

* A very affected style began to prevail about that time, by which sense was frequently sacrificed to sound.

by showing, 3. How the scriptures should be taught. Here he urged upon them, that pastors should have in mind that they represented the person of Christ; that being induced through the greatness and worthiness of the thing itself, they might so reverently do their office, that all men should perceive that it is a heavenly business which they have taken upon them. For the image of God must shine in him that is the minister of God. And if the apostles had not so used themselves, they had never laid again the foundations of religion; there never would have been any have left their altars, their sacrifices, their fires, and their gods themselves, to be of the opinion of a few fishers. They counted all they had as nothing in comparison of Christ Jesus. Jewell then enlarged upon the example left by the apostles, adding, That the word of the Lord may be set forth worthily, two things are principally to be taken heed of, one, that we be not weakened nor enfeebled by fear; the other, that out of the gospel we reap not a jot or piece of praise unto ourselves. A preacher's mind must be prepared and diligently fenced against either of these. After exhorting to courage, he added, A preacher should not have too great a conceit of himself, but that he think that function and office hath happened to him from above, from God; that he discharge his duty diligently, and with very great fear, remembering that he is occupied, not in his own business, but in God's business. In the holy scriptures they are called, not princes, nor magistrates. nor rulers, nor kings, but stewards, preachers or criers, ministers, servants; that as we do this in behalf of another, we should not grow proud for another's praise. God would not have us preachers and criers of our own art and skill, but of his will: neither do we for any other cause carry about this treasure in earthen vessels, than for that it should be the brightness and clear light of the power of God. Such a minister of Christ was bishop Jewell, and there were many such among the British Reformers.

He was a man of great moderation; as appears by his letter to Dr. Parkhurst, when bishop of Norwich. "Let your chancellor, said he, be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you plaster: wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands. And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes, not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officials. But though as a justice of peace he often sate in the courts of quarter sessions, yet there he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of religion, or some such like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

He was extremely careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from being impoverished, in an age when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishoprics entirely, and left others so very poor, that they were scarcely able to maintain a prelate. A courtier having obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and intending to let it to another layperson for his best advantage, acquainted bishop Jewell with the conditions between them, and some lawyer's opinion about them. To which the bishop replied, "What your lawyers may answer I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live."

Though he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expense in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance. This his successor, Dr. Gheast, furnished with books.

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send charitable relief to prisoners. Nor did he confine his bounty to Englishmen only, but was liberal to foreigners, aud especially to those of Zurich, and the friends of Peter Martyr. Perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house several poor lads whom he brought up in learning. He took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them and pleasing himself at the same time. Besides these, he maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and whenever they came to visit him, rarely dismissing them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Richard Hooker his countryman, whose parents being poor, he must have been bound apprentice to a trade but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance, near seven years before he was fit for the university. In the year 1567 he appointed him to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi college, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which, with a contribution from his uncle John Hooker, and the continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. In the last year of the bishop's life, Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table, which Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, to whom he was then travelling on foot. The bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money,

which when he bethought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you, Richard, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany. He then went on and said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you are honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother. Tell her, I send her a bishop's blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. If you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless you good Richard." Not long after this, the good bishop died, but before his death he had so effectually recommended Hooker to Edwin Sandys then bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of York, that he put his son under the tutelage of Hooker, and was so liberal to him, that he became one of the most learned men of the age.

To return to bishop Jewell; he had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the popish authors. Here he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning, till eight o'clock; so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he ate some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table, and though at it he ate very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories. For though he was a man great and exact, both in piety and virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper, and his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and Englishmen. After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him, though he would sometimes do this at dinner also; and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable justice. At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it. The time of his public morning prayers seems to have been eight o'clock.

After this, he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his gentlemen reading some part of an author to

him, to compose his mind, and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

Jewell's principal writings have been noticed in the preceding pages. In the present day we cannot form an adequate idea of the importance of his controversial works against the papists at that period, when the whole of Europe was agitated by warfare, caused by the intrigues of the papacy, and promoted by the industrious defence of its principles. His work, the defence of the apology, in particular, should be studied by all who wish to become acquainted with this important subject. A copy of that work was ordered by queen Elizabeth, king James I., Charles I., and four archbishops, to be chained in every parish church, with a large bible, and Fox's Acts and Monuments, so that the people might read them at all convenient times.

Some others of Jewell's works will be found more generally interesting at the present day; among these the principal is the Exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which has been justly characterized as "worth its weight in gold." It was, however, a posthumous publication, having been edited by Dr. John Garbrand, a divine whom he much esteemed, to whom he left his unpublished papers and manuscripts. Garbrand published from them the Exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians—the View of a seditious Bull—A short Treatise of the Holy Scriptures—Six Sermons preached at Paul's cross, before the queen—and a Treatise of the Sacraments. These, with Jewell's other works, were collected and published in a folio volume in 1609 and 1611, and are now reprinting (1830) by the university of Oxford. Some other pieces were left in manuscript by bishop Jewell. Among them are enumerated the following,—An Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year—An Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments—A Comment on the Epistles of St. Peter, and on the Epistle to the Galatians.*

* Wood, in his Athenæ Oxonienses, states that all books and papers left by bishop Jewell to Dr. Garbrand were given by the latter to Dr. R. Chaloner and Dr. John Rainolds. Diligent inquiry has been made for these comments on the epistles of Peter and to the Galatians, in the hope of adding them to this collection, but without success.

A

TREATISE

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS WHICH BISHOP JEWELL PREACHED AT SALISBURY, A. D. 1570.

This treatise, Of the Holy Scriptures, was printed by Dr. Garbrand with another work of bishop Jewell's called "A View of a seditious Bull sent into England from Pius V. bishop of Rome, 1569." In the preface to the reader, he says,

"In the Treatise of the Holy Scriptures is showed the authority, and the profit, and the pleasure, and the necessity of the word of God.

"If thou learn to humble thyself before God, and to seek wisdom of him; if thou search the Scriptures, and make them thy guides to lead thee through the desert and wide sea of this life, thou shalt soon espy the danger of all practices towards disloyalty and rebellion whereto the Bull driveth thee. For it is not only said by the wise man, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,' Prov. i. but also set down by the prophet, 'They have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is there in them?' Jer. viii. That is, men become foolish and do such things as are unmeet, because they care not for the word of God; and therefore David in his experience so confesses, that by the commandments of God he was made wiser than his enemies, and had more understanding than all his teachers; because the testimonies of the Lord were ever with him, and he did meditate upon them. Psal. cxix."

Dr. Garbrand adds a short account of the last hours of bishop Jewell, which is given in the preceding pages.

A TREATISE

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Among all his creatures in heaven or earth, God hath not made any like unto the sun in the firmament, the beams whereof are beautiful and pleasant, and give comfort in all places, to all things. It rejoices the whole, and relieves the sick; it causes birds to sing, fishes to play, cattle to stir, worms to creep, grass to grow, and trees to bring fruit; it renews the face of the whole earth.

Yet a blind man has no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blind, and cannot see it; yet a dead man has no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead, and feels it not.

Adam was placed in paradise in perfect estate, and in the company of God's angels. God walked and did talk with him. He heard the voice, and beheld the presence of God. The rivers yielded waters abundantly, the trees brought him food of life. He had plenty without travail, he had pleasures, joy, and his heart's desire.

But Adam was unthankful; he knew not God, the worker of his happiness; he knew not the place in which he was; he knew not his own state and blessedness; therefore the wrath of the Lord grew against him; he fell into the snares of the devil, he became mortal, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the world so happy as Israel! They were delivered by a mighty hand out of Egypt, from the tyranny of Pharaoh, from servage and villainy.* Their children were no more slain before their faces. They passed through the bottom of the sea, as upon dry land. When they were hungry, there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought them quails from the sea, and manna was given them from heaven to eat. When they thirsted, the

* Slavery, villain formerly meant a serf or bondsman.

rocks opened and poured out water, that they and their beasts might drink.

In battle they were mighty and strong; no power was able to stand against them. The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light. When they called upon the Lord, he heard them. When they trusted in him, they were not confounded.

But they grew unmindful of all these mercies, and murmured against the Lord, and against his servants; therefore God raught* forth his hand against them. He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. He sent his angel, and destroyed them in the wilderness.

Even so fares it with all such as regard not the word of their salvation; because they have ears and hear not, nor will understand with their hearts, the fury of the Lord shall be kindled against them. The prophet saith in the name of God to Israel, Jer. vii. I have sent unto them all my servants the prophets, yet would they not hear me, nor incline their ear.

Samuel tells Saul, 1 Sam. xv. Thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath cast away thee. Again, Jeremiah saith, chap. vi. How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? They have rejected the word of the Lord, and what wisdom is in them? Again, Unto whom shall I speak, and admonish, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken; behold the word of the Lord is unto them as a reproach, they have no delight in it; I will cause a plague to come upon this people, even the fruit of their own imaginations; because they have not taken heed unto my words, nor to my law, but cast it off.

After this manner God shows the cause why his word takes not place in us; because we are wilful, and will not hear it, nor receive it, nor take delight in it, nor let the fruit thereof appear; but reject it and make it a reproach, and cast it away from us. And therefore is it that the Lord doth cast us away; that we are unwise; that we please ourselves with our own devices, and follow our own imaginations, and perish, because we have not understanding to hear the instruction of the Lord's word, but like ignorant men, disallow it, and cast it behind the back.

The consideration hereof moves me to say somewhat of

* Stretched.

the HOLY SCRIPTURES, which are the bright sun of God; which bring light unto our ways, and comfort to all parts of our life, and salvation to our souls; in which is made known unto us our estate, and the mercy of God witnessed in Christ our Saviour.

That we may the better see the path which we have to walk in; my meaning is, truly, and plainly, and shortly, to show you what authority and majesty the word of God beareth; then, what profit we may reap by it; also how needful it is that we be well instructed in the Holy Scriptures; and what pleasure and delectation a Christian conscience may find in them; and lastly, whether they are dark and doubtful, or plain and easy for your understanding: that when we know the majesty and authority of the word, and what comfort and profit God giveth us by it, we deprive not ourselves thereof by our unthankfulness, nor close up our eyes that we see it not; but hear it in reverence and in fear, that it may be fruitful in us, and we receive it not in vain.

THE SCRIPTURES ARE THE WORD OF GOD. What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say, The Lord hath spoken them? that they came not by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? 2 Pet. i. At the word or proclamation of an earthly prince we stand up and vail our bonnets, and give good heed to it: we are bound so to do, it is our duty; such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule over us; for they are ordained of God. And whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

If we should have a revelation, and hear an angel speak unto us, how careful would we be to mark, and remember, and to be able to declare the words of the angel! yet an angel is but a glorious creature, and not God. And what is a king? great and mighty, yet mortal and subject to death; his breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he and his word, his power and his puissance shall have an end.

But the word of the gospel is not as the word of an earthly prince. It is of more majesty than the word of an angel. The apostle saith, Heb. ii. If the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?

God saith, by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lv. My word shall accomplish that which I will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. And the same prophet saith, chap. xl. The word of God shall stand for ever. And, It is more easy that heaven and earth pass away, than that one tittle of the law should fail, saith our Saviour, Luke xvi. For it is the word of the living and almighty God, of the God of hosts, who hath done whatsoever pleased him, both in heaven and in earth.

By this word he maketh his will known. I have not spoken of myself, saith Christ, John xii. but the Father which sent me, gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak. And again, John xv. If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin. No man hath seen God at any time. He is invisible, no eye can reach unto him. The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath declared him; he hath showed us the throne of grace, that we may seek for mercy, and find grace in time of need; he hath disclosed unto us the will of his Father; he hath left unto us, and ordained, that we should hear his holy word.

This word the angels and blessed spirits used when they came down from heaven to speak unto the people; when they came to the blessed virgin, and to Joseph, and to others, they spake as it was written in the prophets, and in the Scriptures of God; they thought not their own authority sufficient, but they took credit to their saying, and authority to their message, out of the word of God.

This word the prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mothers' womb; albeit God had endued them with his heavenly Spirit; although a seraphim came unto one of them and touched his mouth with a hot coal; albeit he saw the Lord sitting upon a high throne; yet they would not speak as of themselves, but only in the name of the Lord; for thus they used to say, The Lord hath spoken—This is the word of the Lord—Hear what the Lord saith. Saint Paul, albeit he was taken up into the third heaven, and into paradise, and heard words that are not lawful for man to utter, yet he wrote not his own words to the churches of Rome, of Corinth, and Thessalonica, and of other places, but delivered those which he had received, and taught them according to the Scriptures.

This word is the true manna; it is the bread which came

down from heaven; it is the key of the kingdom of heaven; it is the savour of life unto life; it is the power of God unto salvation. In it God showeth unto us his might, his wisdom, and his glory. By it he will be known of us. By it he will be honoured of his creatures. Whatsoever truth is brought unto us contrary to the word of God, it is not truth, but falsehood and error; whatsoever honour done unto God, disagrees from the honour required by his word, it is not honour unto God, but blasphemy.

As Christ saith, Matt. xv. In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines men's precepts. By Isaiah God saith, Who required this at your hands? And by Jeremiah, chap. vii. I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways which I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you.

Again, Jer. xxiii. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. What are your dreams to be weighed with the truth of God? Search the Scriptures. In them ye shall learn to know me, and how you should worship me; in them ye shall find everlasting life. The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in the furnace; there is no filth nor dross remaining in them; they are the storehouse of wisdom, and of the knowledge of God; in respect whereof, all the wisdom of this world is but vain and foolish.

Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans, Lycurgus, king of Lacedemon, and Minos, king of Crete, were wise men, and of great government; they devised laws to rule the people, and bare them in hand, that they were taught by revelation, that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for ever. But where are they now? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus? Where are their books? What is become of their laws? They were unwise, and had no knowledge nor understanding of God; they and their laws are dead, and their names forgotten. But the law of God came from heaven indeed. God wrote it with his finger; it is the fountain of all wisdom, and therefore shall it continue for ever, and never have an end.

Here let us behold the great power and work of God. When Moses received the law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of angels; the air was darkened at his presence, the mount stood all covered with fire,

the earth shook, the heavens thundered, the people stood afar off, and fled for fear, and said unto Moses, Talk thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God talk with us lest we die. This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the law; such force and credit God gave to his word, and warranted himself to be the Lord.

Since that time, many thousand years are already passed. In the mean time the people of Israel were oppressed by tyrants, were spoiled and chased out of their country; first by Nebuchadnezzar into Babylon; after that, by Antiochus into Syria; and lastly, they were as vagabonds driven from country to country.

Their city Jerusalem was sacked, their houses overthrown, their temple rased, and not a stone left upon a stone; their library destroyed, their books burnt, the tabernacle lost, the covenant broken. No vision, no revelation, no comfort for the people left; nor prophet, nor priest, nor any to speak in the name of the Lord.

In all those times of decays, of sackings, of darkness, and of misery, what was done with the word of God? It was wickedly burnt by Jehoiakim, king of Judah; and Antiochus burnt the books of the law, and cut them in pieces. No man durst be known to have them, and avouch the having; so thought they utterly to deface the glory of God, and to abolish all remembrance of his laws.

Then came the Pharisees; they drowned the word of God with their traditions; they took away the key of knowledge, and entered not in themselves, but forbad them that came in. After them came heretics; they denied, some one part, and some another part of Scripture. They rased, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God; of the word of God they made it their own word, or, which is worse, they made it the word of the devil.

By the space of so many thousand years, the word of God passed by so many dangers of tyrants, of pharisees, of heretics, of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth until this day, without altering or changing one letter. This was a wonderful work of God, that having so many and such great enemies, and passing through so many and such great dangers, it yet continueth still, without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter.* No creature was able to do this, it was God's work.

He preserved it, that no tyrant should consume it; no

* So as to alter the sense, or change the doctrines taught therein.

tradition choke it; no heretic maliciously should corrupt it. For his name's sake, and for the elect's sake, he would not suffer it to perish; for in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh covenant with them for life everlasting. Tyrants, and pharisees, and heretics, and the enemies of the cross of Christ, have an end; but the word of God hath no end.

No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Cities shall fall; kingdoms shall come to nothing; empires shall fade away as the smoke; but the truth of the Lord shall continue for ever. Burn it, it will rise again; kill it, it will live again; cut it down by the root, it will spring again. There is no wisdom, neither understanding, nor counsel against the Lord. Prov. xxi.

Let us behold the nations and kingdoms which sometimes professed Christ, and are now heathenish; Illyricum, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others. Again, let us behold such kingdoms and countries, which were in times past heathen, and knew not God; as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and divers others.

They were all without the gospel, without Christ, without God, and without hope of life. They worshipped idols, even the work of their own hands. To them they appointed priests for their service, days and places for the people to resort together to worship them.

Here in England, Paul's church in London was the temple of Diana; Peter's church in Westminster was the temple of Apollo. In Rome, they had the temple of the great god Jupiter, and in Florence the temple of Mars; and in other places they had temples dedicated to other idols.

Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana were unclean spirits and filthy devils; yet they gave thanks to them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in war and in misery, and commended unto them their wives, their children, themselves, the safe keeping and custody of their souls. They built gorgeous churches and chapels; set up images of silver and gold to them; prayed, lifted up their hands, did sacrifice, and offered up their children to them.

A horrible thing to say, yet true it is, the darkness of those times was such, that men slew their own children, and offered them up to idols. They said, Great is Jupiter, great is Apollo, and great is Diana of the Ephesians. These are the gods of our fathers; our fathers trusted in them; they made us, and have defended us, and have given

us victory against our enemies. Whosoever denied them were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the kings, and the princes, and the people persuaded; and so continued they by the space of some thousand years, without controlment or contradiction. They had great props of antiquity, universality, and consent—antiquity of all times; universality of all places; consent of all the people. So strongly and so mightily were they founded; who would think such a religion, so ancient, and so universal, and so defended by common consent, should ever possibly be removed?

But when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his word, and all was changed. Error fell down, and truth stood up; men forsook their idols, and went to God. The kings, and priests, and people were changed; the temples, and sacrifices, and prayers were changed; men's eyes and hearts were changed. They forsook their gods, their kings, their priests; they forsook their antiquity, customs, consent, their fathers, and themselves.

What power was able to work these things? What emperor by force ever prevailed so much? What strength could ever shake down such mighty idols from their seats? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world, and make such mighty nations confess they had done amiss? This did the Lord bring to pass by the power of his word and the breath of his mouth.

This it was that led captivity captive, and threw down every high thing that lifted itself up against the Lord, and brought all powers under subjection unto the Lord. It is the image, the power, the arm, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and virtue, of authority and majesty, because it is the word of God; therefore the glory thereof is great.

Now let us stand afar off, and humble ourselves, and in reverence and fear learn to take the fruit and comfort of the same; for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers of his glory. But where shall we find entrance into this matter? And how shall we be able to come to land? For this is the sea, and the depth of all the works, of the judgments, and mercies, and of the kingdom of God. This is a sea that hath no shore, a pit that hath no bottom.

The Holy Scriptures are the mercy-seat, the registry of the mysteries of God, our charter for the life to come, the holy place in which God showeth himself to the people, the

mount Sion where God hath appointed to dwell for ever. The more comfort there is in them, so much the more greedily let us desire them; the more heavenly and glorious they are, with so much the more reverence let us come unto them.

For consideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by his word, what may we better call to mind than what is recorded by St. Paul, Rom. xv.? Whatsoever things were written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.

All that is written in the word of God is not written for angels, or archangels, or heavenly spirits, but for the sons of men, for us, and for our instruction; that by them we may receive strength and comfort in all adversities, and have hope of the life to come. It is the word of God. God openeth his mouth and speaketh to us, to guide us into all truth, to make us full and ready in all good works, that we may be perfect men in Christ Jesus; so rooted and grounded in him, that we be not tossed to and fro with every tempest.

The profit which the word of God bringeth shall best appear, if we first take a view of our estate, what we are, in what place we stand, and what enemies make force against us. We are the sons of Adam, stubborn children, the children of vanity and of wrath; the children of those fathers who forsook God, and have erred in their hearts, and were deceived.

God who created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, saith, Gen. viii. "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Such are we, even by the judgment of God, and his judgment faileth not. What error, what idol, what wickedness ever hath been heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man?

We can neither do, nor speak, nor think the thing that is good; our understanding is heavy, our will froward, our eyes blind, and our heart unclean. We go astray through this world as lost sheep, every man after his own way. Even as a leaf is carried up and down with a blast of wind, so are we easily driven into error; in ourselves we find no stay, no succour, nor help. Such are we, and so weak of ourselves.

But where are we? In the world. And what is the world? Some think it to be a place full of all delights and

pleasures, a goodly, strong, and gorgeous palace, and a paradise of joy. Let no man deceive us, nay, rather let us not deceive ourselves: the world is a shop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkness, a pot full of poison, a ship full of leaks, a way full of snares; it blinds our eyes, beguiles our senses, and helps us forward into all dangers. We are blind ourselves, and the place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.

Whereunto may I resemble our case? Jeremiah the prophet was cast into a dungeon: there he sat without light, and without comfort. His case was miserable, and the place loathsome; yet he knew where he was, he knew what he lacked; he cried unto the Lord and was delivered.

Daniel was cast into the den of lions, there to be torn in pieces and devoured: but he saw his misery, and the danger in which he stood; he saw the lions, the paws which should gripe him, and the teeth which should tear him. His case was miserable, yet is ours more miserable. We are in the deep dungeon of hell, and think we are in safety; we are in the midst of darkness, and think it to be light; we are compassed with lions, with dragons, and with scorpions, yet think not of our misery.

Who hath not heard of the story of Jonah? Jonah was in a whale's belly. The place was very dark, the waves beat on every side; he was drowned, yet touched no water; he was swallowed up, yet not consumed; he lived without any sense of life; the fish was death, the sea was death, and the tempest was death; yet he died not, but lived in the midst of death; he could not see, he could not hear, he knew not to whom he might call for help; he was taken and carried away, he knew not whither.

Let us mark well this story; it is a true pattern of our estate, and shows what our life is in this world. We are beset with like dangers; we are driven with tempests; we are drowned in like floods; we live in the midst of horrible darkness; we are carried we know not whither.

The philosopher tells us, truth and falsehood are nigh neighbours, and dwell one by the other; the outer porch of the one is like the porch of the other; yet their way is contrary; the one leads to life, the other leads to death; they differ little to the show, save that oft times the door of falsehood is fair, painted, graven, and beautifully adorned; but the door or forefront of truth is plain and homely.

Thereby it happens that men are deceived; they mistake

the door, and go into error's house, when they seek truth. They call evil good, falsehood truth, and darkness light; they forsake that which is good, deny the truth, and love not the light. This moved St. Paul to say of his brethren the Jews, Rom. x. I bear them record that they have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; they have the care and fear of God; they are zealous in their doings; they have devotion; they pretend conscience; they think they do well, and that they please God. When they professed themselves to be wise, they became fools, Rom. i.

They knew not what they did; for if they had knowledge, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. But they know not the truth of God; they know not God; they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart; their prayers are no prayers; the truth they hold is falsehood; their faith is no faith; they are sheep without a shepherd. Thus we have heard what we are, and in what place.

Now let us see what enemies bend their force against us. We fight against the gates of hell, with the devil, the prince of darkness, the father of lies; with the devil, who hath power over the children of disobedience, by whose malice death came into the world. Even that devil bends his force against us, who deceived Adam in paradise, who deceived the learned philosophers, and beguiled the princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world; who abuses and entices our hands, our eyes, our learning, our understanding, and our own hearts to deceive us.

He rampeth as a lion, and rangeth over the world, seeking whom he may devour. This is his delight and study. He hath been a murderer from the beginning. If this were ever true at any time, our times have found it most true. We are they upon whom the ends of the world are come.

Now is this Scripture fulfilled in our ears. Now see we the days whereof Christ warned his disciples so earnestly, Matt. xxiv. They shall say, Lo! here is Christ, and there is Christ. This is the truth, that is the truth. There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall deceive many; they shall betray the truth. Many shall be offended by them; if it were possible, the very elect, they whose names are written in the book of life, should be deceived. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.

The sun is the word of God, the moon signifies the church. The powers of heaven shall be moved; all the kindreds of the earth shall mourn; abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place. Let him that reads, consider it. This is the mystery of iniquity, of which St. Paul speaks to the Thessalonians, which worketh among them that perish, 2 Thess. ii. Thus are we forewarned. God has given us his word to advise us, that we be not cast away unawares.

They that walk in the dark know not whither they go. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. He that is ignorant, shall not be known. Christ shall say unto him, I know you not; depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire. Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out.

In this case, what shall a godly-disposed simple man do? How shall he settle himself? to which side may he safely join himself? If he make reckoning of learning, there are learned men on both sides. If he make reckoning of virtue and godly life, there are virtuous men and of godly life on both sides. If he make reckoning of zeal, either side is zealous in the religion they hold. If he make reckoning of the name of the church, they take it as well to the one side as to the other. If he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side, but neither side has so many as the Turk.

Whither then may a man turn himself, and to which side may he safely join? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case, St. Paul tells us, Whatsoever things were written aforetime, are written for our learning, to lighten our eyes, to resolve our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to lighten them that sit in darkness. Except he had left a spark of this light we had perished, and become like to Sodom and Gomorrah.

David saith, Thy word is a lantern to my paths, and a light to my feet. By it I may see the way which is before me; by it I can escape danger, and by it I can keep the path wherein I ought to walk. When Christ perceived that the Capernaites and the Jews disliked his doctrines, and went back and walked no more with him, he said to the twelve, John vi. Will ye also go away? You are my disciples, whom I have chosen out of this world; will ye also go away? Simon Peter answered him, Master, to whom

shall we go? Thou hast the word of eternal life. If we forsake thee, who shall instruct us? Thy word is the word of eternal life.

With this word Christ confounded the scribes and pharisees, and put them to silence. Ye reject, saith he, Mark vii. the commandment of God, that ye may observe your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; whosoever shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to father or mother, Corban, that is, by the gift that is offered by me thou mayest have profit, he shall be free.

With this word he confounded them, for misusing the temple by buying and selling, Matt. xxi. It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves. With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every fault, Matt. xix. From the beginning it was not so. With this word he confounded the devil, and chased him from him, Matt. iv. It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And again: It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And again: It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

This word confounded the Arians, and all sects of heretics. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches, and others? They are blown away as smoke before the wind. The word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell, and brake his hands and neck, and could not stand in the presence of the ark of the Lord, even so shall all falsehood fall and hide itself in the presence of the truth of God. As the rod of Moses devoured the rods of the charmers; as the beams of the sun drive away and consume darkness,—so shall the word of God chase away errors.

When the two disciples walked by the way with Christ, they said between themselves, after their eyes were opened, so that they knew him, Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and opened to us THE SCRIPTURES? Luke xxiv. His words possessed all our senses; his talk was not like common talk; we felt it forcible in us as the word of God.

Israel heard Peter declare unto them at Jerusalem by proof of the Scriptures, that Christ was come. They were

not able to resist the word of God, but were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Acts ii. We acknowledge our error: the words which you speak are most true; they are the words of life; teach us and instruct us what we shall do. They felt the force of it, and yielded unto it; they did acknowledge it was the word of God.

Augustine, after he had continued long in error, and had withdrawn himself into a secret place, where he might make his prayer, and bewail his ignorance, heard a voice say unto him, Take up and read, take up and read. And he forthwith took up the epistles of St. Paul, and opened them, and secretly read the chapter which he first lighted on, even these words: Not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of the same, Rom. xiii.

"I would read no further," saith he, "for I needed not. For when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart." It was as if it had been said, O man, acknowledge thy misery; thou art naked, cover thy filthiness; put upon thee Jesus Christ. And forthwith I felt a fire within me, my heart was lightened; the scales fell from mine eyes, I was able to see. Thus he was comforted and stayed by this, the word of God.

This profit of the word Cyprian declares: If we return to the head, and the beginning of the Lord's traditions, all error of man must needs give place. Theophylact, writing upon these words in the gospel of St. John, He that entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, he is a thief and a robber, saith, He entereth not in by the door, that is, by the Scriptures; for he doth not use the Scriptures nor the prophets as witnesses. For indeed the Scriptures are the door by which we are brought to God, and they suffer not the wolves to come in; they keep off heretics, that we may be in safety; and they teach us the reason of any thing wherein we would be instructed; therefore he is a thief which entereth not into the sheepfold by the Scriptures. And by the Scriptures it appears he is a thief that climbeth up another way, that is, makes himself another way, a way which was not known, nor beaten: such a one shall antichrist be. What greater profit? They bring us to God, teach us the truth, and give us reason of all

things: they keep us in safety, suffer not wolves to devour us, keep off heretics, bewray a thief, and make known who is antichrist.

Therefore, upon the gospel by St. Luke, he expounds these words, Let your lights be burning; that is, have not your being in the darkness, and be ye not void of judgment; but take unto you the light of God's word, which will teach you what things you should do, and what things you ought not to do.

And as the word of God is the light to direct us, and to bewray errors, so is it also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood. Chrysostom, writing upon the 24th of Matthew, shows it were impossible for a man to stay himself, and find out which is the true church, but by the word of God. "For it could not be tried by working of miracles; because the gift of working miracles is taken away, and such false miracles as carry some show are rather to be found among false Christians; nor yet by their conversation and life, because Christians live either as ill or worse than heretics." There can be no trial of true christianity, and Christians which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, have no other refuge, but to try and learn this by the Scriptures. For, saith he, heretics have the counterfeit and likeness of those things which are proper to Christ; they have churches, they have the Scriptures of God, they have baptism, they have the Lord's supper, and all other things like the true church; yea, they have Christ himself. He therefore that will know which is the true church of Christ, how may he know it, but by the Scriptures?

Therefore our Lord, knowing that there should be such confusion of things in the latter days, commandeth that Christians, who live in the profession of Christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselves upon a sure ground of faith, should go to no other thing, but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they had regard to other things, they should be offended and perish, and not understand which is the true church.

The master of a ship, when he is on the main sea, casts his eye always upon the load-star,* and so directs and guides his ways. Even so must we, who are passengers and strangers in this world, ever settle our eyes to behold the word of God; so shall no tempest overblow us; so shall

* The pole star.

we be guided without danger; so shall we safely arrive in the haven of our rest.

The prophet David therefore saith, Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart. Their faces shall not be ashamed, they shall not be confounded, which have respect unto his commandment. Blessed is the man, whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night. The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple.

This is the rule of our faith. Without this, our faith is but a fantasy, and no faith; for faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Therefore Christ saith, John v. Search the Scriptures; they are they that testify of me. There shall ye find testimony of my doctrine; there shall ye know what is the will of my heavenly Father, and there shall you receive the comfort for everlasting life.

Again, John viii. He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. If a man keep my word, he shall know the truth, he shall never see death. Therefore Baruch said, "O Israel, we are blessed, for the things that are acceptable unto God are declared unto us." This is thy blessedness; herein hath God showed his favour unto thee; he hath revealed the secrets of his will unto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. He showed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

Therefore the prophet David teaches us to pray unto God for the knowledge of his word. Show me thy ways, O Lord, and teach me thy paths: take not thy Holy Spirit from me, and incline my heart unto thy testimonies. Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments. Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law. And, Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death; that I may discern between safety and danger, that I may know truth to be the truth, and error to be error.

Thus I have declared part of that profit which grows to us by the word of God; but it not only directs our judgment in the trial of truth, it also grafts in us a boldness and constancy in the defence of the truth. It is also said in the book of Ecclesiasticus, "A fool changeth as the moon. He

is always unstable and inconstant, he knows not what to do nor what to believe; he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty, and turns and changes as the moon; he builds, and lays his foundation upon the sand, therefore his house falls to the ground; he halts on both sides, sometimes he worships God, and sometimes Baal; he is neither hot nor cold; he ebbs and flows like the waves of the sea; he doubts and staggers, and rests in nothing; he knows not the truth; he knows not that the Scriptures are the word of God, so he wanders in the dark, and knows not the way in which he walks. He has no feeling, no heart, no understanding; he is unfaithful towards God, and keeps no faith towards man; he is wavering in all his ways." And why? Because he knows not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and steadfast as the sun. He builds his house upon a rock, and that rock is Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Therefore his house is never shaken down. Be the storm or tempest ever so rough, yet it shall stand fast like mount Sion, because his trust is in the name of the Lord. He knows that his name is written in the book of life; he knows that he belongs to the Lord's sheepfold, and that no man can take him away out of the Lord's hand.

In this boldness David saith, Psal. xxiii. Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. And again, Psal. xxvii. The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? And again, Psal. cxix. Except thy laws had been my delight, I should now have perished in mine affliction.

When Hezekiah heard the proud message of Sennacherib, sent to him and his people by Rabshakeh, that they should not obey Hezekiah, nor trust in him when he said, The Lord will deliver you; and, Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest; he went up into the house of the Lord, and prayed unto the Lord to save him and his people out of their hands, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that he is God alone, 2 Kings xix.

Even so the apostle, Rom. xiv. Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's. And in this boldness our Saviour Christ settled himself to bear their reproaches, and to carry his cross, Luke xxii. Father, if thou wilt, take away this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done. Thus they that are taught by the word of God to put their

trust in the Lord, and are thereby rooted and settled in him, cannot be removed by any practice of Satan, but stand fast, and continue for ever. Which shall more plainly appear, if we look back into the times of persecution, and behold the boldness and constancy of the saints of God. They were brought before magistrates, cast into prison, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered; some were hanged upon gibbets, some run through with swords, some torn with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire. They were hated of all men for the name of Christ, they were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth; yet they continued faithful and constant; they armed their hearts with the comfort of God's word; THEREBY were they able to resist in the evil day; they were faithful until death, therefore God gave them a crown of glory.

When they were called before kings and princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they took in the truth, they answered in this manner, "O my gracious Lord, I would fain do your commandment; I am your subject; I have done you faithful service with my body and with my goods, but I cannot serve you against God. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords; he is my Lord before whom I stand; I have put my life in his hands; he hath forbidden me to do this which you command, therefore I cannot do it. Judge uprightly whether it be meet to obey you rather than God. My living, my wife, my children, and my life, are dear unto me. I am a man like others, and have my affections; yet neither living, nor wife, nor children, nor my life, is so dear unto me as the glory of God. I am but a poor worm, yet am I the work of his hands. God hath put his word in my mouth; I may not deny it; I may not bear false witness against the Lord. My life is not dear unto me in respect of the truth. I know if I should deny him to save my life, I should lose it; and if I lose my life for his sake I shall find it.

"That which your authority shall lay upon me is not done without his will. All the hairs of my head are numbered. I owe you obedience; I will not resist your power; for if I should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God. I am subject to you for conscience sake. I will forsake my country, my goods, my children, and myself, at your commandment; I will say to mine own flesh, I know thee not; only I cannot forsake my Lord God.

"Dear sir, you fight not against me. Alas? what am I? what can I do? You fight against God, against the Most Holy, against Him who can command your life to go out of your body. It is a hard thing for you to kick against the spur; it is no hard matter for you to kill me, for so mighty a prince to kill so wretched a worm. But this I declare to you, that my blood which you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your hands.

"It may please God to give unto you repentance, and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may be a mean thereto, if my blood may open your eyes, if my blood may soften your heart, it could never be spent in a better cause; blessed be the name of God, which hath made me his instrument for your so happy conversion. This is the only thing wherein I cannot yield. The Lord hath spoken unto me; I have heard his voice; my heart has felt it; my conscience knows it; I cannot deny it; no sword can cut me from it; no water can drown it; no fire can burn the love I bear unto it; there is no creature in heaven or earth, that can carry me from the blessed hope I have conceived by his word."

So constant is he that hath learned the word of God, and hath set his delight upon it, and through it is assured of the will of God. Heaven shall shake, the earth shall tremble, but the man of God shall stand upright. His feet shall not fail, his heart shall not faint, he shall not be moved; such a ground, such a foundation, such a rock is the word of God.

Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord. He shall build upon a sure place; he lays his foundation upon the corner-stone; he needs no army to make him strong; he needs no friends to comfort him in adversity; his strength is within; the gates of hell shall not prevail against him; his comfort is inwardly within his heart; he speaks to God, and God unto him; his eyes behold the kingdom, and power, and glory of God.

But what say we of the fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, &c.? What shall we think of them, or what account may we make of them? They are interpreters of the word of God; they were learned men, and learned fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God, and vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reverence them, and give thanks unto God for them.

They were witnesses unto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the church of God. Yet may they

not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience; we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord.

And thus are we taught to esteem the learned fathers of the church, by their own judgment; by that which they have written, either for the credit of their own doings, or of the authority which they have thought due to the writings of others.

Augustine said of the doctors and fathers of his time, Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they ever so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical Scriptures; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine. Some things I believe, and some things which they write I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy and canonical Scriptures.

Cyprian was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Jerome was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Augustine was a doctor of the church, yet he wrote a book of retractations; he acknowledged that he was deceived. God did therefore give to the church many doctors, and many learned men, who all should search the truth, and one reform another, wherein they thought him deceived.

Augustine saith, "Take away from amongst us any of our own books, let the book of God come amongst us; hear what Christ saith, hearken what the truth speaketh." He is the Wisdom of his Father, he cannot deceive us. Again, he saith, "Hear this, The Lord saith: hear not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincent, or Hilary, or Ambrose, or Augustine saith." All these were learned, most of them were holy; yet, saith Augustine, we may not yield to that which is said by learned men, but we must yield our full consent and belief to the word of God.

Origen saith, "We must needs call to witness the Holy Scriptures; for our judgments and expositions without those witnesses carry no credit," Mark well; our words, and expositions, and constructions, unless they be warranted by the Scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit. Augustine saith, "We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any of his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures."

Thus speaks Augustine, a doctor of the church, of Cyprian, another doctor of the church. Cyprian was a bishop, a learned father, a holy man, and a martyr of Christ; yet, saith Augustine, his word is not the gospel, his word is not the word of God; there is no wrong done to him, though his writings carry not like credit, as the Holy Scriptures.

I could show many like speeches of the ancient fathers, wherein they reverence the Holy Scriptures, as that to which only they give consent without gainsaying; which can neither deceive, nor be deceived. In this sort did Origen, and Augustine, and other doctors of the church speak of themselves, and of theirs, and the writings of others—that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. This kind of writing is to be read, not with a necessity of believing them, but with a liberty to judge of them.

St. Paul saith, Gal. i. Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you otherwise than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. Out of which place Augustine speaks thus, "Whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any thing else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith, I will not say if I myself, but, if an angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than ye have received in the books of the law, and in the gospels, hold him accursed."

Now to conclude this matter, the same father saith, "The judges, or doctors of the church, as men, are often deceived." They are learned, they have pre-eminence in the church, they are judges, they have the gifts of wisdom and understanding, yet they are often deceived. They are our fathers, but not fathers unto God: they are stars, fair, and beautiful, and bright, yet they are not the sun; they bear witness of the Light, they are not the light. Christ is the Sun of righteousness.

Christ is the light which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. His word is the word of truth. He is the day-spring which hath visited us from on high; he came down from the bosom of his Father; he shall guide our feet into the way of peace. Of him God the Father spake, Matt. iii. This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him.

He is the Lamb without spot; out of his mouth goeth a two-edged sword. This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed; hear him; give heed to his saying,

embrace his gospel, believe his word. Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be given to the writings of the ancient fathers.

St. Paul, speaking of the word of God, saith, 2 Tim. iii. The whole SCRIPTURE is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness. To teach the truth, to reprove falsehood, to correct all vice, to instruct in all virtue. Again, Rom. i. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.

Basil saith, "The Scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient medicine for his disease." There are salves and ointments to cure all maladies: whosoever cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is grown desperate, and past cure.

Many think the apostle's speech is hardly true of the whole Scriptures, that all and every part of the Scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of genealogies and pedigrees, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c. These seem to have little profit in them, but to be vain and idle. If they show vain in thine eyes, yet the Lord hath not set them down in vain. "The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in a furnace of earth, fined seven times," Psal. xii. There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction; there is not one jot, but it is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lamb. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain; there is no idleness, no vanity, in the word of God.

Those oxen and goats which were sacrificed, teach thee to kill and sacrifice the uncleanness and filthiness of thy heart; they teach thee, that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast; they lead thee to believe the forgiveness of sins by a more perfect sacrifice, because, It was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins, Heb. x. The leprosy teaches thee to know the uncleanness and leprosy of thy soul. Those genealogies and pedigrees lead us to the birth of our Saviour Christ. So that the whole word of God is pure and holy. No word, no letter, no syllable, no point or tittle thereof, but is written and preserved for thy sake.

Art thou a king? Read the Scriptures; thou shalt find who hath established thine estate, and what duty thou owest

to God. God there telleth thee, Prov. vii. By me kings rule, and princes decree justice. I have given thee authority; thou carriest my sword, I have put a crown upon thy head; thou art my servant; walk before me; let thy heart be perfect in my sight.

Art thou a subject? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, Give tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour is due. Ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but for conscience sake. For he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doeth evil. Rom. xiii.

Art thou a minister? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee thy duty. The prophet saith to thee, Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions, Isa. xlviii. The apostle saith unto thee, 2 Tim. iv. Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season; watch in all things; do the work of an evangelist; make thy ministry fully known. Thou shalt give an account for the souls of the people; their blood shall be required at thy hands.

Art thou a father? hast thou children? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. If thou hast sons, instruct them. Eli the prophet, by sparing his wanton children, cast away himself and his children; they were slain, the ark of God was taken, and old Eli fell down, and brake his neck, 1 Sam. ii.

Art thou a child? hast thou a father? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right; honour thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth, Eph. vi. And again, Children, obey your parents in all things, for it is well pleasing unto the Lord, Col. iii. The wise man warns thee: The eye that mocketh his father and despiseth the instruction of his mother, let the ravens of the valley pluck it out, and the young eagles eat it, Prov. xxx.

Hath God blessed thee in wealth? art thou rich? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Be not high minded, and trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy, 1 Tim. vi. Again, Trust not in oppression and robbery; be not vain; if riches increase, set not your heart thereon. Thou shalt depart and leave them behind thee: they shall forsake thee.

Thou shalt die, thou knowest not how soon. Solomon showeth thee, Riches avail not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death, Prov. xi.

Art thou poor, and sufferest scarcity in this world? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. Say with Job, Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return again. Learn of Solomon, Better is little with righteousness, than great revenues without equity. And again, Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that perverteth his ways, though he be rich, Prov. xvi. and xxviii. St. Paul saith, Godliness is great gain, if a man be content with that he hath; for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we carry nothing out, 1 Tim. vi. And again, Let him that is poor, labour, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.

Art thou a merchant? usest thou to buy and sell? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: This is the will of God, that no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter, 1 Thess. iv. Thou shalt learn, that divers weights and divers measures are abomination unto the Lord, and deceitful balances are not good, Prov. xx.

Art thou an usurer? Thy case is hard, yet hear the Scriptures; they will teach thee: God commands thee thus, If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him; ye shall not oppress him with usury, Exod. xxii. Again, If thy brother be impoverished, and fallen in decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him; thou shalt take no usury of him nor vantage; thou shalt not lend him thy victuals for increase, but thou shalt fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee, Levit. xxv. And, Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them, Matt. vii. And, He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, Psal. xv.

Art thou a fornicator, and livest in adultery? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: He that committeth fornication, saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. sinneth against his own body. Know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid. As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. i. The

reason is set down by St. Paul, 1 Thess. iv. For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that you should abstain from fornication, that you may be holy both in body and in spirit. And, Heb. xiii. Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge. They shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

Art thou a servant? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, in all things, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men, Col. iii. Again, Please your masters, not answering again; be no pickers, but show all good faithfulness, that ye may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, Tit. ii.

Art thou proud? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Be not high-minded, but fear, Rom. xi. What hast thou, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou as though thou hadst not received it? 1 Cor. iv. And, Learn of me, that I am meek and humble in heart, Matt. xi. And, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble, James iv. 6.

Art thou in adversity? Read the Scriptures: Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver him out of them all, Psal. xxxiv. And, Psal. xci. He shall call upon me, and I will hear him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and glorify him. And St. Peter telleth thee, 1 Pet. iii. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers. God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able, but will give the issue with the temptation, that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord is near unto all them that call upon him, yea, to all that call upon him in truth, Psal. cxlv.

Art thou a sinner? hast thou offended God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Hate the evil, and love the good, Amos v. And again, Fly from evil, and do good, and dwell for ever, Psal. xxxvii. Rise up, and go to thy father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, Luke xv.

Dost thou despair of the mercy of God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: Christ telleth thee, Matt. ix. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Again, chap. xi. Come unto me all ye that are weary and

laden, and I will ease you. At what hour soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. Again, Ezek. xxxiii. I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live. And, Psal. cxlv. The Lord is good to all, and his mercies are over all his works.

Art thou going out of this life? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee: I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die, John xi. Say with St. Paul, Phil. i. Christ is to me both in life and in death advantage; I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ.

What should I say more of THE SCRIPTURES? how profitable and comfortable they are in all cases and parts of our life! In adversity, in prosperity; in life, and in death; they are our especial comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword; if we hunger, they are meat; if we thirst, they are drink; if we have no dwelling-place, they are a house; if we be naked, they are a garment; if we be in darkness, they are light unto our going.

They are comfortable to kings, to subjects, to old men, to young men, to man and to wife, to father and to child, to master and to servant, to captain and soldier, to preacher and people, to the learned, to the unlearned, to the wise, and to the simple.

They are comfortable in peace, in war; in heaviness, in joy; in health and sickness; in abundance, in poverty; in the daytime, in the night season; in the town, in the wilderness; in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousness, and all godliness. THEY TEACH US TO LIVE, AND THEY TEACH US TO DIE.

Therefore hath Paul said well, THE WHOLE SCRIPTURE IS PROFITABLE—it is full of great comfort; it makes the man of God absolute and perfect unto all good works; perfect in faith, perfect in hope; perfect in the love of God and of his neighbour; perfect in his life, and perfect in his death. So great, so large, and ample, and heavenly, is the profit which we reap by the word of God.

Now it follows that we consider how necessary and needful it is, for us to be guided by the word of God, in the

whole course of our life. The word of God is that unto our souls, which our soul is unto our body. As the body dieth when the soul departeth, so the soul of man dieth, when it hath not the knowledge of God. Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, Deut. viii.

Behold, saith God, Amos. viii. I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord. Their tongue shall wither, their heart shall starve, they shall die for hunger. Isa. lix. They shall wander from sea to sea; and from the north unto the east shall they run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it. They shall stumble at noonday, as at the twilight; they shall grope for the wall like the blind, and truth shall fall in their streets.

For how shall they be saved, unles they call on the name of the Lord? How shall they call on Him, in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe in Him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent? Rom. x. Chrysostom therefore saith, "Neither can it be; I say it cannot be, that any man shall attain to salvation except he be always occupied in spiritual reading." The wise man saith, Prov. xxix. Where there is no prophecy,* the people decay.

When the Scriptures are not opened, when there is none that can edify, and exhort, and comfort the people by the word of God, they must needs perish. For they know not the way in which they should walk; they know not whom to honour, nor upon whose name they should call; they know neither what to believe, nor what to do. Hell hath enlarged itself, and hath opened his mouth without measure; and they that are wilful and ignorant, and the children of darkness, go down into it.

They become thrall and captives unto Satan; their heart is bound up; they understand nothing; their eyes are shut up, they can see nothing; their ears are stopped up, they can hear nothing; they are carried away as a prey into hell, because they have not the knowledge of God.

So doth Christ tell the sadducees, Matt. xxii. Ye are deceived, because you know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God. Thus he teaches, that error is the child of ignorance. The cause why you are so deceived, is because you know

* Preaching.

not the Scriptures; you have hated the light, and loved darkness; you have neither known the Father nor me. He that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God.

Herein, in this case, there is no plea of ignorance. Ignorance will not excuse us. Chrysostom saith, "Thou wilt say, I have not heard the Scriptures. This is no excuse, but a sin." Again he saith, "This is the working of the devil's inspiration; he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches; therefore he counsels us, that it utterly avails us nothing to hear the laws of God, unless that upon the hearing he may see our doing follow."

Gregory saith, "Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord, are not known of the Lord." Origen also gives reason of this practice of Satan: "Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torment, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries and secrets of the Scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils; in this fire they are tormented, for they are seized and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance."

Carneades, a philosopher, was wont to say of his master and reader, Chrysippus, "If it had not been for Chrysippus, I never had been any body; he was my master and teacher; he made me learned; whatsoever I have, I have it of him." How much better may we use the like words of the Scripture, and say, Unless it were for the word of God, our wisdom were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing. Whatsoever we have, we have it by the word. Without it, our prayer were no prayer; without it, our sacraments were no sacraments; our faith were no faith; our conscience were no conscience; our church were no church. Take away the light of the sun, and what remaineth but darkness? heaven and earth are darkened; no man can see his way, or discern the things about him: even so, if the word of God be taken away, what remains, but miserable confusion and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the hairs of Samson, they fell upon him, took him, bound him, and plucked out his eyes; they danced about him, and made scorn and games of him. We are Samson; the strength of our hairs is the knowledge of the will of God; it is laid up in our heads, in the highest and principal part of us; if that be shorn off, if we be kept from hearing, reading, and understanding of

the word of God, then will error, superstition, and all wickedness, get the upper hand, and fall upon us, and bind us, and pluck out our eyes, and make scorn of us, and utterly destroy us.

When the people of Jerusalem were besieged, and wanted food to eat, they fed on rats and mice, and many unwholesome and filthy things. A woman was driven for want of meat to do a cruel part upon her own child; she took her own babe, which was the fruit of her own body, killed it, cut it in pieces, dressed it, and fed upon it—a loathsome meat, especially for a mother to eat her own child! But she was driven to it by extremity and hunger; it was so cruel a thing to lack wherewith life might be preserved. Even so fared it with us and our fathers, after it pleased God to take away his gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the word of the Lord. We were driven to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold; we were driven to feed upon our own children, even the fantasies and vanities of our heart. There was no substance in them, they could not feed us!

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the word of God, and left the ordinances set down unto them. God had no pleasure in them, their prayers and sacrifice were not accepted. I cannot suffer, saith the Lord, Isaiah i. your new moons, or sabbaths, or solemn days. Who hath required this of your hands?

In such case were the scribes and pharisees, when they forsook to be guided by the word of God, and took away the key of knowledge. They fed upon their own devices, they neglected the commandments and will of God, and followed their own traditions; therefore Christ reproved them, Matt. xv. O hypocrites, Isaiah prophesied well of you, saying, This people draweth near unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far off from me. But in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines men's precepts.

Therefore, if we seek to know the sacraments of the church, what they are; if we would be instructed in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; if we would learn to know our Creator, and to put the difference between the Creator and a creature; if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come; if we would believe in God, and call upon the name of God, and do worship unto

God; if we would be settled in perfect zeal and true knowledge; if we would have an upright conscience towards God; if we would know which is the true church of God, it is very needful that we hear the word of God. There is no other word that teaches us unto salvation.

Now it remains that we speak of the delectation and pleasure which the word of God giveth. The word of God is full of serious and grave counsel, full of the knowledge of God, of examples of virtues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things, say you, are great and weighty of themselves; there is no vanity or pleasure in them.

They are great and weighty, I grant; and because they are so weighty, they are the more worthy that we hear them. But we must take a delight and settle our fancy, that it may like the weight and greatness. They were unto the prophet David, more sweet than honey and the honeycomb. If we taste them with such an affection as he did, we shall feel and see the great, and weighty, and heavenly pleasure which is in them.

Many are delighted with the stories of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the great, of mighty and victorious princes; they have pleasure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphs; and many take their pleasure in travel to far countries, to see the divers fashions and behaviour of men.

If it were possible that we might stand upon a hill, from which we might at once see all parts of the world, the cities, and towns, and mountains, and forests, and castles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the kings and princes of the world, in their princely estate; if we might see the variety of the whole world, how some live quietly in peace, others are turmoiled in war, some live in wealth, others in poverty and misery; some rise, others fall; to see and behold such great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight us.

Such a hill, from whence we may take views of such great variety; such a story in which we may read of noble princes, of their wars and victories, is THE WORD OF GOD. Upon this hill you may at once behold all the works of his hands, how he made heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the sea and floods, the fishes in the water, the fowls in the air, and the beasts in the field. Upon this hill you may

stand and see his angels, and his archangels, and blessed spirits; how some of them fell, and some continued in glory; how God hath sent them in message, how they have come down from heaven to serve the sons of men.

Here you may read of the wars of the God of hosts; how he hath pitched his tents in the midst of his people, and hath gone before them and fought for them; how the Amorites and Canaanites were rooted out; how the Amalekites were overthrown by the lifting up of Moses's hands in prayer; how the wall of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of a trumpet, and the shouting of the people; and how one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians were slain in one night by the hand of one angel, when God raught out his hand from heaven, to give victory to his people.

Here may you see how God plagued and overcame his enemies; how he drowned Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and his horses, and men, and chariots, all together. Here may you see Nebuchadnezzar, a mighty prince, so bereft of his wits, that he forsook his palaces, and the company and order of men, and lived in the fields after the manner of beasts. Here may you see how God struck king Herod with filthy diseases, and caused lice to eat his flesh; how he sent down fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins; how he made the earth open and swallow up Dathan and Abiram; how king Uzziah was stricken with leprosy, and carried from the temple, and cut off from his kingdom.

What stories of any princes or people in any age can report unto us such strange battles, such mighty conquests, such wonderful deliverance in extremities, such dreadful subduing of the enemies, as the hand of God has wrought, and the story of the Scriptures declare unto us?

This word also showeth the goodness and mercy of God towards the people who put their trust in him; how he made them terrible to their enemies; how he made their enemies their footstool; how he led them safe through the Red Sea; how he sent his angel to go before them, and guide them; how he gave them water out of a rock, and rained down bread from heaven; how he brought them into a land that flowed with milk and honey, and sware unto them, that he would be their God, and they should be his people.

In this word are to be seen wonderful and strange works of God, such as are beyond the course of nature, and pass

the reason of man—that the sea parted, and stood on both sides as a high wall; that at the word of Joshua the sun stood still, and went not on his course. Hezekiah spake the word, and required it, and the sun went back ten degrees. At the word of Elias, fire came down from heaven to consume the sacrifice.

Here may you see an ass open his mouth and speak and reprove his master; three servants of God walk in a hot burning furnace without hurt; Daniel in the den among lions and not devoured; Peter in the raging sea, and not drowned; lepers cleansed, the lame to go, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the dead to rise out of their graves and live; simple and unlearned men to speak in strange tongues; the devil to go out of the possessed, and to say, I know thou art Christ the Son of God.

Here may you see twelve poor simple men, without spear, or sword, or force, make conquest and win the whole world! No power could repress them, no might could withstand them! It is reckoned a great matter for a king or a nation to yield submission unto another king or nation. It must therefore be a matter of great wonder to see all kings throw down their maces, and all people to yield before men so few, so simple, so unarmed; and to acknowledge they had embraced lies, and lived in ignorance; and that these twelve are the servants of the Highest; and to see how God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, to overthrow the wise; and the weak things of this world to confound the mighty things: such force God gave to their words. He made them the sons of thunder; they shook the foundations of the world; they threw down whatsoever stood against them.

Here you may see the fight of God's elect children; how they patiently suffered afflictions in their bodies rather than they would deny the truth of God; they gave their backs to the scourge, their necks to the sword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacings, no rack, no torment, no sword, no death could remove them from the love of the gospel which they had received.

The more of them were cut down, the more did spring up; the more were killed, the more were left alive. Augustine saith, "They were bound, and shut up, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increased." This is the victory that hath overcome the world. For the Lord answered St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. My power is made perfect through weakness. It liveth in death; it is made whole and sound by

wounds and stripes; it is increased by those means whereby men destroy it.

Jacob saw a ladder stand upon the earth, and the top of it reach up into heaven, and the angels of God go up and down by it. This was but a dream and vision in his sleep; yet when he awoke, he took pleasure and comfort of this vision. We have not only the delight of this with Jacob, but we have other far greater visions. We see Isaiah beholding the Lord as he sat upon a high throne; we see Paul taken up into the third heavens; we see the glory of God appear, and hear the voice which came out of the cloud, saying, Matt. xvii. This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him.

We see Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of a virgin, and how he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto man, and was found in shape as a man; that he humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross, Phil. ii. We hear him cry with a loud voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? We hear him say, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. And, Father, into thine hands, I commend my spirit, Luke xxiii.

Here we may see the sun to be darkened, that the moon giveth no light; the earth to shake, the rocks to cleave asunder, the vail to rend, the graves to open, and Christ rise from the dead, and go up into heaven, and sit at the right hand of his Father.

Here may we see the overthrow of that Babylon, which made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, Rev. xiv. how she is destroyed with the breath of God's mouth. Here we behold the resurrection of the dead, and four-and-twenty elders sit before God on their seats, and the Ancient of days sit upon his throne; and the judgment-seat, and the books opened, and all flesh appear before him; and how some are taken into everlasting life, and some are sent into everlasting death.

What tongue is able to express these pleasures and delights which are laid open to us in the word of God? We buy images of men, and pictures of divers things, and maps of countries; but what image, map, or picture can show us the like variety and change of things?

We purchase lands, and have liking so to do. Here we

are taught how we may come to that land which shall stand with us, and in which we shall continue for ever.

To see any one of these, it were great pleasure; either the creation of heaven and earth, or the angels and archangels, and blessed spirits; or the battles of the God of Sabaoth; or Amalek dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel; or the walls of Jericho blown down with the sound of a trumpet; or Pharaoh drowned in the sea; or Nebuchadnezzar eating grass among the beasts; or Herod smitten from heaven; or Sodom and Gomorrah burnt with fire and brimstone; or the earth to open and swallow up the wicked; or the sea to stand like a wall; or water to come out of stone; or bread to come from heaven; or the sun to stand still, or to change his course; or an ass to speak, and teach his master; or fire to be extremely hot, yet not burning; or lions hungry, yet not eating their meat; or the sea tempestuous, yet not drowning; or the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the dead to rise; or ignorant men to speak in languages they never learned; or the devil to roar, and confess Christ; or God sitting in his majesty, and Christ at his right hand; or Babylon thrown down, and become a tabernacle of foul spirits, and a den for the devil; or Christ to sit in judgment, and give sentence upon the quick and the dead—to see any one of all these wondrous works of God, it were great pleasure.

How can it be then, but that we rejoice and take delight to see so many, such great, such marvellous, so heavenly, and such glorious wonders in one heap altogether! Here is to be seen the triumph of God, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings; how he made the name of his Son triumph over principalities and powers, and over the whole world. How far would we ride or go, to see the triumph of a mortal king! Here is a paradise full of delights; no tongue is able to speak them, they are so many; no heart is able to conceive them, they are so great.

Here is a shop wherein is set out the wisdom, and knowledge, the power, the judgments, and mercies of God. Which way soever we look, we see the works of his hands; his works of creation, and preservation of all things; his works of severe justice upon the wicked, and of gracious redemption to the believer.

If we desire pleasant music, or excellent harmony, it speaks unto us the words of the Father, and the consent of

the Son; the excellent reports of the prophets, apostles, angels, and saints of God, who have been all taught by the Holy Ghost.

If we would learn, it is a school; it giveth understanding to the simple. In it there is that which may content the heart, the ear, the eye, the taste, and the smelling. It is a savour of life unto life. O taste and see how gracious the Lord is, saith the prophet David, Psal. xxxiv. So manifold and marvellous are the pleasures which are given us in the word of God; God hath made them and wrought them all for the sons of men.

Thus have I performed promise, and simply and in homely manner opened those four things which I took in hand. I have declared what weight and majesty the word of God beareth; what huge harvest of profit we may reap by it; how needful it is for us travelling through the wilderness of this life, and what repast and pleasure we may find in it.

But all this notwithstanding, some take exception, and say, The Scriptures are dark and doubtful, the matters are deep, the words are hard, few can understand them. One takes them in this sense, another in a sense quite contrary. The best learned cannot agree about them; they are the occasion of many great quarrels. John sees this book sealed with seven seals, and an angel preaching with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? Rev. v. No man can open it, no man can read it. St. Peter saith, 2 Pet. iii. Among the epistles of Paul, some things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do all other Scriptures, unto their own destruction. And St. Paul saith, 1 Tim. vi. God dwelleth in the light that none can attain unto; whom man never saw, neither can see. Therefore, although the majesty be ever so weighty, the profit, the necessity, and the pleasure ever so great, yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls must not be cast before swine, nor the bread of the children unto dogs. Thus they say. But indeed the word of God is pearls, yet the people are not swine.

They may not read them, say some; they are not able to wield them; the Scriptures are not for the people. Hereof I will say something, and a word or two of the reverence and fear, with which we ought to come to the hearing of them.

They say the Scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. So said the Pelagian heretic, Julian, whom Augustine therefore reproved: "Ye enlarge and lay out with many words how hard a matter the knowledge of the Scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men." You say the Scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no evidence or trial to be taken by them; they are fit only for a few learned men; they are in nowise fit for the people. Thus said Julian, a heretic.

But God himself, and the ancient fathers of the church, said otherwise. God saith, Deut. xxx. This commandment which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very near thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it. Thou needest not run hither and thither, nor wander over the sea, nor beat thy brains in searching what thou shouldest do, or by what means thou mayest live uprightly. The word and commandment of God will teach thee sufficiently.

The prophet David saith, Psal. xix. The commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes. And Psal. cxix, Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths. Thy word is not dark, it is a light unto my path, it giveth light unto the eyes. What is clear, if the light be dark? or what can he see, who cannot see the light?

Human knowledge is dark and uncertain. Philosophy is dark, astrology is dark, and geometry is dark. The professors thereof oftentimes run a-muck; they lose themselves, and wander they know not whither; they seek the depth and bottom of natural causes, the change of the elements, the impressions in the air, the causes of the rainbow, of blazing stars, of thunder and lightning, of the trembling and shaking of the earth, the motions of the planets, the proportion and the influence of the celestial bodies. They measure the compass of heaven, and count the number of the stars; they go down, and search the mines in the bowels of the earth; they rip up the secrets of the sea. The knowledge of these things is hard; it is uncertain; few are able to reach it; it is not fit for every man to understand it.

But the Holy Spirit of God, like a good teacher, applieth himself to the dulness of our understandings; he leadeth us not by the unknown places of the earth, nor by the air, nor by the clouds; he astonisheth not our spirits with natural vanities; he writeth his law in our hearts; he teacheth us to know him and his Christ. He teacheth us, Titus ii. that we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world; he teacheth us to look for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This matter is good, and it is plain; the words are plain, and the utterance is plain.

Chrysostom saith, "Therefore hath the grace of the Holy Spirit disposed and tempered them so, that publicans, and fishers, and tentmakers, shepherds, and the apostles, and simple men, and unlearned, might be saved by these books; that none of the simpler sort might make excuse by the hardness of them; and that such things as are spoken might be easy for all men to look on; that the labouring man, and the servant, the widow woman, and whosoever is most unlearned, may take some good, when they are read. For they whom God ever from the beginning endued with the grace of his Spirit, have not gathered all these things for vain glory, as the heathen writers use, but for the salvation of the hearers."

Some things in the Scriptures are hard; I deny it not. It is very expedient that somewhat should be covered, to make us more diligent in reading, more desirous to understand, more fervent in prayer, more willing to ask the judgment of others, and to presume the less on our own judgment.

Gregory saith, "The hardness which is in the word of God is very profitable; for it causes a man to take that profit by pains, which he could not take with negligence. If the understanding were open and manifest, it would be little set by."

Cyril saith, "All things are plain and straight to them that have found knowledge; but to such as are fools, the most easy places seem hard." And again: "Those things which are plain, are hard unto heretics; for how can wisdom enter into a wicked heart?" It is true which St. Peter hath said, Some things are hard to be understood.

But it is also true, that they which pervert them unto their own destruction are unlearned and unstable; that is, they to whom they are hard, have not their eyes opened that they

may see the light of the word; or they are wicked and turn the truth of God into lies, and abuse the Scriptures to their own damnation. The owl seeth not by the brightness of the sun, not because the sun-beams are dark, but for that his eyes are weak, and cannot abide such clear light. It is therefore but a pretence and colour for their ignorance, and a means to deceive the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkness and hardness.

For how many hundred places are there as clear as noon-day? God saith, Exod. xx. I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other gods before me; thou shalt make thee no graven images, neither any similitude of things that are in heaven above, neither that are in the earth beneath, nor that are in the waters under the earth; thou shalt neither bow down to them, neither serve them.

Again, Psal. xcvii. Cursed be all they that worship carved images, and delight in vain gods. This is the word of God. What darkness is in these sayings?

God saith, Exod. xxii. If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him, ye shall not oppress him with usury. Again, Ezek. xviii. If a man hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, &c. he shall surely live; but he that hath given forth upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? He shall not live.

And, Rom. vi. The wages of sin is death. And, Ezek. xviii. The soul that sinneth, it shall die. And again, Eph. v. This ye know, that no whoremongers, neither unclean person, nor covetous person, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for, for such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. These are the words of God; and what darkness is in them?

St. Paul saith, Rom. xii. If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, have peace with all men. Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good; avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath. Again, chap. xiii. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; there is no power but of God. He is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought. These are the words of God; what darkness is in them?

St. John saith, chap. i. Christ is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. And, 1 John i. The

blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sins. St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. ii. His own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live in righteousness.

Christ saith, Luke xi. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. And again, Matt. xi. Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you. The prophet saith, Joel ii. Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. These are the words of God; what darkness is in them? What eye is so simple, but it may see them?

The ways of the Lord are straight, and his words plain even unto the simple. Chrysostom saith, "All things are clear and plain in the Holy Scriptures. Whatsoever things there are necessary for us, are also manifest." Some things are covered, as men cover precious stones and precious garments; they are covered, and yet we see them; we see them, and yet they are covered; yet all things that are necessary are plain and open.

Clemens saith, "The word of God is hid from no man; it is a light common unto all men; there is no darkness in God's word." Mark, it is a common light, and shines unto all men; it is as bright and beautiful as the sun—there is no dungeon or darkness in it. So saith Irenæus: "The Scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men." All men may hear them, even all sorts of men without exception.

Where be they then which say it is not lawful for the people to have the word of God, and that the Scriptures are not meet for their reading? They are bread; they are drink; they nourish unto everlasting life. Great cruelty it is to starve God's people to death. Are they unfit to have the Scriptures, because they be poor? Christ saith, Matt. xi. The poor receive the glad tidings of the gospel. And, Matt. v. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven: they want riches, and worldly glory, but God giveth his fear and grace to them, as well as to the rich.

Are they unfit to read the Scriptures, because they are not bred up in other learning? St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. ii. I esteemed not to know any thing among you, but Jesus Christ and him crucified. The prophet David saith, Psal. xciv. Blessed is the man, O Lord, whom thou teachest in thy law. And Christ saith, Matt. xi. Thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them

unto babes. The apostles were sent into all the world to preach the gospel unto every creature, to learned and unlearned, to poor and rich. There is no man too poor, none too rich, none too young, none too old. Whosoever hath ears to hear, he hath learning enough to be a hearer.

As for the wisest and most learned men in matters of this world, they have not always proved the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God—they have not been the meetest scholars for this school. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the servants of God? Not the people, but the wisest and best learned in Egypt. Who were they that stood against Elias? Not the people, but the learned and wise men, and the prophets and priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the prophets? Not the people, but the chief and wisest in Israel.

Who were they that resisted Christ and his gospel, and sought to deface the glory of God? Not the people, but the scribes, and pharisees, and high priests, and all the troop of their clergy. They called Christ a deceiver and Beelzebub, a companion of publicans and harlots; they lay in wait every where to entrap him, they sued him to death.

St. Paul saith for conclusion in this matter, 1 Cor. i. It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For, seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believed. Brethren, you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty things, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen.

Mark, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you. Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the gospel with you, or join with you in faith, or keep you company. God hath let them be deceived in their wisdom; they take themselves to be wise, and yet are become fools. And, contrary to worldly judgment, God hath made you, who were weak and simple, and of no reputation, wise and righteous, and sanctified and redeemed in Christ Jesus. And Christ saith, Matt. xviii. Except ye be converted, and

become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Therefore the godly father Chrysostom calls upon the people to read and hear the Scriptures. "Hear me, ye men of the world; get ye THE BIBLE, that most wholesome remedy for the soul; if ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the New Testament, St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts, that they may be your continual and earnest teachers." And again: "Hearken not hereto, only here in the church, but also at home; let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and both to and fro; let them both inquire, and give their judgments; and would God they would begin this good custom."

In like sort saith Origen: "Would to God we would all do accordingly as it is written, Search the Scriptures." It were a token that we do love Christ. Then would the Father love us; Christ would love us, and show himself unto us; he and his Father would come unto us, and dwell in us.

Chrysostom saith, "This is the cause of all ill, that the Scriptures are not known. To know nothing of God's laws," saith he, in another place, "is the loss of salvation: ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life, ignorance hath turned all things upside down."

Jerome, expounding those words of the apostle, Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously, saith, "Here we are taught, that the lay-people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another."

And now to conclude what the learned fathers and ancient doctors have said in these matters. Theodoret saith, "Ye may commonly see, that our doctrine is known not only of them that are the doctors of the church, and the masters of the people, but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also of women; and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and sewsters, and servants, and handmaids; not only the citizens, but also the country folks do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea, even the very ditchers, and delvers, and cow-herds, and gardeners, arguing of the Holy Trinity, and of the creation of all things."

Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the church, and got the upper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and dark, and doubtful; when children, and women, and servants, and men of the country,

had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the works of God. Then went it well with them; they could not easily be deceived, because they had that word which bewrayeth the thief; they carried with them, like good exchangers, the weights and touchstone; and were able to try coins whether they were true or false. Such were the people, such was the state of God's church in those days!

Gold, and silver, and lands, and possessions, are the portions but of few; they are not common to all alike. The wise man saith, Prov. xix. House and riches come by inheritance of the fathers. But the word of God, the law and the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the gift of the Spirit, and the knowledge of God, are given unto all men, they are made common for all men.

If the word were ordained but for a few, then Christ was given unto the world but for a few; the heaven was made but for a few; the mercy and love of God was but for a few. But the mercy of God is over all, and upon all, and for all. All have right to hear the word of God, all have need to know the word of God. All have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God. Rom. iii.

Therefore Christ calleth all, Matt. xi. Come unto me all ye that be weary and laden. Young men and old men, men and women, rich and poor, come to me. God is no accepter of persons, Acts x. It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, saith Christ, Matt. xviii. that one of these little ones should perish. Who will that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, 1 Tim. ii. God will look to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his words, Isa. lxvi. God will regard such a one, and make him a fit vessel to receive his truth. Upon him that is such shall the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God, rest.

Not only upon the rich, the wise, and the learned, but upon him that is poor, and of a contrite heart, and trembleth at his words; upon him that humbleth himself under the mighty hand of God; he is the temple and the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He that is humble in heart shall be saved; God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.

Therefore Christ said, Matt. xi. I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes, even to such as have no learning, which rejoice in nothing but in Thee. The wise and

learned of the world cannot hear them, cannot see them; but they to whom it pleased Thee to give understanding. It is thy mercy. Flesh and blood cannot reach the knowledge of thy will. The Spirit of the Father hath revealed it.

Christ saith, John x. My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; they will not follow a stranger. My people are simple as sheep, they are rude, and know not what they do; yet they know my voice, and follow me; they know their shepherd from a thief; they follow not the call and voice of a stranger. So we see that God chaseth no man away from hearing his word; he loatheth not the poor, because of his poverty; he refuseth him not, for he is the God of the poor; they are his creatures.

Augustine saith, "Almighty God, in the Scriptures, speaketh as a familiar friend, without dissimulation, unto the hearts both of the learned and of the unlearned." He abaseth himself, and speaketh to their capacity; for his will is, that all should come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved.

Now let us consider with what fear and reverence we ought to come to the hearing or reading of the word of God. The angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush, Exod. iii. When Moses turned aside to see, God said unto him, Come not hither, put thy shoes off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. Again, when God appointed to speak unto the people from mount Sinai, he said to Moses, Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and let them be ready on the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai, Exod. xix.

The word of the Lord is the bush, out of which issues a flame of fire. The Scriptures of God are the mount, from which the Lord of hosts doth show himself. In them God speaks to us; in them we hear the words of everlasting life. We must be sanctified, and wash our garments, and be ready to hear the Lord. We must strip off all our affections; we must fall down before him with fear; we must know who it is that speaketh; even God the maker of heaven and earth; God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; God who shall judge the quick and the dead, before whom all flesh shall appear. His word is holy. Let us take heed into what hearts we bestow it. Whosoever abuses it shall be found guilty of high trespass against the Lord. We may not receive it to blow up our hearts, and wax proud with our knowledge;

we may not use it to maintain debate and contention; we may not use it to vaunt ourselves, or to make show of our own wisdom. The word of God teaches lowliness of mind; it teaches us to know ourselves. If we learn not humility, we learn nothing. Although we seem to know somewhat, yet we know not in such sort as we ought to know.

The Scriptures are the mysteries of God. Let us not be curious; let us not seek to know more than God hath revealed by them. They are the sea of God; let us take heed we be not drowned in them. They are the fire of God; let us take comfort by their heat, and warily take heed they burn us not. They that gaze over-hardly upon the sun, take blemish in their eyesight.

When the people of Israel saw the manna in the desert, they said, "Man hu?" what is this? So they reasoned of it when they took it up in their hands, and beheld it. They asked one another what good it would do. THE SCRIPTURES are manna, given to us from heaven, to feed us in the desert of this world. Let us take them, and behold them, and reason of them, and learn one of another what profit may come to us by them. Let us know that they are written for our sake, and for our learning, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures we may have hope. They are given us to instruct us in faith, to strengthen us in hope, to open our eyes, and to direct our going.

If we withhold the truth in unrighteousness; if we know our Master's will, and do it not; if the name of God be ill spoken of through us; the word of God shall be taken away from us, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. God shall send us strong delusions, that we believe lies; our own heart shall condemn us, we shall be beaten with many stripes. Therefore we ought diligently to give heed to the things we hear; we must consider them, we must chew the cud. Every beast that cheweth not the cud is unclean, Levit. xi. and not fit for the sacrifice. Let us be poor in spirit, and meek in heart; let us be gentle, as becometh the lambs of Christ, and as his sheep; let us hear his voice, and follow him; let us be of a contrite spirit, and tremble at the words of God; let us, when we know God, glorify him as God. So shall God look upon us; so shall the Spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and of counsel, and of knowledge, and of the fear of God, rest upon us; so shall we be made perfect to all good works; so shall we rejoice in his salvation, and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

AN

EXPOSITION

UPON

THE TWO EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLE ST. PAUL

TO

THE THESSALONIANS.

BY THE REV. FATHER,

JOHN JEWELL,

LATE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In the dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, Dr. Garbrand says,—

"It is now some long time since that learned reverend father bishop Jewell, delivered unto the people of his charge the exposition upon the epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians; when many of his hearers thought it worthy to be made common, and besought him earnestly, even as since his blessed departure out of this life they have often required me, to publish the same.

"It is very likely that he would, if he had lived, have perused these his travails and some others, and have drawn them to the use and benefit of the church, and rather have spent his time in setting forth matters profitable for all men to understand, towards the attainment of salvation, than in following their humour any longer, whom neither the weakness of their own cause, nor the force of truth, nor the defence thereof by so weighty authorities of the Holy Scriptures, of the ancient catholic fathers, and of general councils, could content or persuade them to forsake the way of contention, whereto they were entered, and of troubling the church of God with their writings against the truth.

"Now because he himself had some good liking to publish this exposition, and the matter thereof is so fit for our time, that nothing may be more so; and there is not as I can learn any interpreter upon these epistles in the English tongue, and his sermons upon them were the last fruits and travails he bestowed in the cathedral church of Sarum; I made choice of it among many other excellent monuments of his pains taken in the church of God, and gave my best diligence to peruse his notes thereupon; and to draw them to some such perfection, as might carry to the reader the whole weight of his matter without any diminution, even as fully as he declared it so far forth as the notes which remain under his own hand might direct me."

THE FIRST EPISTLE

OF

ST. PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

The apostle Paul preached the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ unto the Thessalonians, as he did also in other places from Jerusalem, round about to Illyricum. But his travail had not the same success in all places; for in Damascus the governor of the people, under king Aretas, laid watch in the city of the Damascenes, and would have caught him. At Lystra they stoned Paul, and drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead, Acts xiv. At Philippi he and Silas were drawn into the market-place unto the magistrate, and accused that they troubled the city; they were beaten with rods, and cast into prison, Acts xvi. The Corinthians received the doctrine of the gospel, and made much of the professors thereof; but they fell soon from their good beginning; they walked like men in envying, in strife, and divisions; some called themselves after Paul, some after Apollos, some after Cephas, and some after Christ; they stirred contention about meats, they abused the Lord's Supper, and they were doubtful of the resurrection of the dead. In like manner the church of God, which was gathered at Rome, grew proud and high-minded, and boasted themselves over the Jews. The Galatians forsook the good way of the gospel, whereunto they were called, and wherein they did walk; they gave ear to false prophets, therefore the apostle telleth them, I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain, Gal. iv.

But the THESSALONIANS, after they had heard the glad tidings of the gospel, they received it greedily, and laid it up close and safe in their hearts. Albeit the Jews withstood them, and vexed them sorely; albeit false brethren used divers secret means to draw them from the love of the truth, yet they kept still their steadfastness, and could not be driven from their faith, either by cruelty of persecution, or by subtlety of crafty persuasion.

Paul being at Athens, a place far distant from thence, sends Timothy to know in what case they stood; so careful was he for that house which he had built, for the fire which he had kindled, for the graft which he had planted, and for the children whom he begot among them. When Timothy made report of their constancy, that they continued steadfast in those things which they had learned, he writes this epistle, to commend them, and to exhort them to abide steadfast in their faith; that they become not like the foolish Israelites, who longed after the fleshpots of Egypt, and were unmindful of their deliverance from bondage under Pharaoh. That they return not like filthy dogs to their vomit, and like unclean swine to their puddles of mire; that they look not back again, after they have put their hands to the Lord's plough, and so make themselves unworthy the kingdom of God. He gives many lessons and instructions to godliness, that they would walk worthy of God, and bring forth the fruits of the gospel. There were among them those that lived idly, and troubled the church without a cause; whom he reproves, willing them to be quiet, and to meddle with their own matters, and work with their own hands. Others mourned over the dead without measure, even as if they had no hope, whom he instructs in the resurrection, and comforts with the speech of the blessed coming of our Lord, when we who live shall be caught up to meet him, and so we shall ever be with the Lord. Others reasoned fondly of the latter day; when it should be, when the Son of God should appear, and when the world should have an end, as if man might reach to the knowledge hereof. But them also he reproves, and warns that they take care rather to watch and look for the Lord's coming, that they may be found ready, having their loins girded, and their lamps burning.

Many are desirous to see the countenance of St. Paul, to see his sword, or the relics of his blood which was shed at his death, or of his upper garment, or of his coat, or of the hair of his head; and for purpose to see such things, many

take painful pilgrimages to far places, where they are deceived. How much better may they be satisfied by reading the story of his life, set down in the Scriptures! In these his epistles, written to the churches of God, he is to be seen in more excellent show, than when he was yet in the body; for here is to be seen, his heart filled with the Holy Ghost, and the care which he had for all saints; how he did travail in birth of them again, that Christ might be formed in them, and how he did wish himself separated from Christ for their sake. The matter of this epistle is plain, and treats not of deep and profound mysteries. The manner of utterance which the apostle uses is open and evident; so that the whole epistle is full of sweet and wholesome doctrine, wherein the simplest may find great comfort.

Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus. These two were companions with Paul in his journeys, and in the work of his ministry; whom here he unites in his letter to the congregation at Thessalonica, to witness their consent and agreement with him, that they all with one mouth, and with one hand and heart, set forth the glorious gospel of our Saviour Christ. And that therefore they also, who are called to the fellowship of the gospel, should be like-minded; being one body and one spirit in Christ Jesus, and the children of one Father, in whom there is no dissension, but all peace and consent and unity.

Verse 1. *Unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ.*

There are sundry sorts of churches: there is a church of the wicked, whereof the prophet saith, Psalm xxvi. I have hated the assembly of the evil, and have not companied with the wicked. Two hundred and fifty captains, men of renown, and famous in the congregation, joined themselves to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; but Moses said unto Korah, Thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord, Num. xvi. The builders of the great tower of Babel were many in number, and consented to that they had imagined to do, thereby to get them a name; but the Lord did confound their language, and scattered them upon the face of the earth, Gen. xi. The scribes and pharisees and high-priest held a council, and conferred among themselves, but against the Lord, and against his Christ, Acts iv. John is commanded to write unto the angel of the church of the

Smyrneans, Rev. ii. These things, saith he, which is first and last, which was dead and is alive, I know the blasphemy of them, which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.—They revile you, and speak all manner of evil against you for my name's sake; they charge you with teaching false doctrine, and say you have departed from the church; that they are the seed of Abraham, the children of promise, the true worshippers of God, and which walk in the steps of their forefathers. But their boast hereof is vain: it profiteth them nothing that Abraham was their father, that the covenant was made with them, that they were circumcised, that a law was given unto them. Let them not trust in their fathers; let them not trust in lying words, and say, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord. If they were Abraham's children, they would do the works of Abraham. If God were their Father, then would they love Christ his Son, and seek to set forth his glory; if they were of the sheepfold of God, they would hear his voice. They are of their father the devil, and the lusts of their father they will do; they are in name the servants of Christ, but serve antichrist; they call themselves Jews, but are of the synagogue of Satan: for, saith the apostle, Rom. ii. he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew, which is one within, and the circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God.

Of those which are such, Leo saith, Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church, and yet ye fight against the church. And Chrysostom saith, The name only of Christ doth not make a Christian, but he must also have the truth of Christ; for there are many which walk in the name of Christ, but few which walk in his truth. It is therefore manifest, as Lyra saith, that the church is not among men by reason of any ecclesiastical or secular authority or dignity, because many princes and high-priests, and others of inferior sort, have forsaken the faith. Though they pretend show of holiness, though they draw to themselves credit by long continuance, though their numbers be great, and they consent together; yet if they have forsaken the faith; if they hold not the truth of Christ; if they fight against and persecute the church; if their circumcision be not the circumcision of the heart, and in the spirit; if they hear not the voice of the Shepherd; if they love not Christ Jesus, the Son of God,

and set not forth his glory; if they seek to stop the course of the gospel; if they seek to get a name among men; if they resist Moses and Aaron—they have only a painted vizard, and carry only an empty name of the church; they call themselves so, and are not.

But the church of God is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. It is the company of the faithful; whom God hath gathered together in Christ by his word and by the Holy Ghost, to honour him, as he himself hath appointed. This church heareth the voice of the Shepherd; it will not follow a stranger, but flieth from him; for it knoweth not the voice of strangers. Of this church Jerome saith, "The church of Christ, which containeth the churches through all the world, is joined together in the unity of the Spirit, and hath the cities of the law, of the prophets, of the gospel, and of the apostles. This church goeth not forth, or beyond her bounds, that is, the Holy Scriptures." It is the pillar of the truth, the body, the fulness, and the spouse of Christ; it is the vine, the house, the city, and the kingdom of God; they which dwell in it are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets; Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone, in whom all the building coupled together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. This church Christ loved, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word; that he might make it unto himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blame, Eph. v. Such a church was the church of God at Thessalonica; such a church are they, whosoever in any place of the world fear the Lord, and call upon his name; their names are written in the book of life; they have received the Spirit of adoption, by which they cry Abba, Father. They grow from grace to grace, and abound more and more in knowledge and in judgment; they cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light; they are made absolute and perfect unto all good works. They are evermore comforted in the mercies of God, both by the Holy Scriptures, wherein God declareth his gracious goodness towards them, and by the sacraments, which are left unto the church to be witnesses, and assured pledges for performance of the promises of God's good will and favour towards them.

Grace be with you and peace, &c. God give you the forgiveness of your sins, and the peace and comfort of your conscience. God let all his blessings fall upon you, that you may see the riches and treasures of his mercy; that you may be filled with all fulness in the Spirit; that you may behold the glory of the kingdom of God; and those things may be revealed unto you by his Spirit, which he hath prepared for them that love him. Without this grace you can do nothing, you can neither feel the burden of your sins, nor seek to be eased of them, nor perceive when they are forgiven; you cannot rend your heart, and set apart from you the vanities and lusts of the flesh, which doth evermore fight against the soul; you cannot discern the word of God, and by it enter the way to everlasting life; you cannot abhor that which is evil, and cleave unto that which is good; without the grace of God you cannot continue steadfast and constant in faith, and in hope of the mercies of God through our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Verse 2. *We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers;*

3. *Without ceasing, remembering your effectual faith and diligent love, and the patience of your hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God, even our Father.*

4. *Knowing, beloved brethren, that ye are elect of God.*

5. *For our gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance, as ye know after what manner we were among you, for your sakes.*

We give thanks, &c. Paul teaches what is the office of a good minister. He must ever carry in remembrance the state of the congregation over which the Lord has placed him; he must give thanks to God in their behalf, and pray for them, that God will bless that which he has begun, and confirm them unto the end; that they may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ; that he will behold them from above, and bless his inheritance, and guide the sheep of his pasture.

Your effectual faith. Faith is not idle; it worketh, and is forcible; it breaketh out like fire; it is always fruitful through love; faith without works is no faith, it is dead, and bringeth death.

And diligent love. Love is painful, and full of travail; it thinketh not evil; it seeketh not her own things; it is

bountiful. This love had the Thessalonians to the saints of God, who suffered affliction in all places for the gospel's sake. Many were spoiled of their goods, cast out of their houses, and banished from their country; even as at this day, for the like cause, many of our brethren, the good servants of God, are driven into banishment, cast into prison, put to the sword, or consumed in fire, in those places where the god of this world hath so blinded their eyes, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine unto them. It is high time, in such cases, for charity to show herself; she cannot dissemble, nor despise the tears of her brother; it showeth forth as the morning light; it taketh from herself to relieve them which are in need; it dealeth bread to the hungry, and bringeth the poor that wander unto her house, and covereth the naked, and hideth not her face from her own flesh. Unto them that have this love, the Lord giveth his blessing: Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble, Psa. xli. And Christ saith, Matt. v. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy.

And the patience of your hope. How many are the troubles which the children of God suffer in this life! Let us behold the times which were before us. Abel was innocent and just, yet was he slain by the hands of his brother, and without a cause. The prophet David saith of the prophets and holy men of God, and the same words saith the apostle of the church of Christ under the gospel, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter, Psa. xliv. Rom. viii. Jeremiah saith, Thy word is unto them as a reproach. And again, For thy sake I have suffered rebuke. What villanies were brought against our Saviour Christ! They reproached him in speeches, brought false accusations and false witness against him, and killed the innocent, in whose mouth there was found no guile. When St. Paul appealed to the witness of Timothy, who fully knew his doctrine, manner of living, purpose, faith, long-suffering, love, and patience; and that he knew also the persecutions and afflictions which came to him, and which he suffered at Antioch, Iconium, and at Lystra, after he had thus remembered his persecutions and his own innocency he saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution, 2 Tim. iii.

What, then, hath the godly to lean unto but hope? The prophet David, therefore, said, Psal. xxiii. Though I should

walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me. Therefore said Job, (xiii.) Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him: for he that putteth his trust in the Lord shall never be confounded. In this hope spake St. Paul, Phil. i. Christ is to me, both in life and death, advantage. Again, Rom. xiv. Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's. And again, Gal. vi. God forbid that I should rejoice, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. And to the Romans he saith, There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.—This is the foundation of faith; even a strong rock, which shall continue for ever. Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor any danger, can remove the faithful from this hope.

But the wicked and unstable fall from their hope, and their fall is miserable. They have heard the word of God, that teaches unto salvation, but did not regard it; they have forgotten the works of the Lord, and received his grace in vain. For when they have heard the word, the devil cometh, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. And the end of these men is worse than the beginning.

It was not so with the Thessalonians. They received the word of God willingly, and it was fruitful in them, so that thereby they increased in faith, in love, and in hope. Their faith the apostle calls forcible or effectual; their love diligent and painful; their hope mighty through patience, whereby they overcome all manner of dangers; and he rejoices on their behalf, because he found such great success of his travail in the gospel among them.

Knowing that you are elect of God. You were blind, the children of wrath, without understanding, without God, and without hope. But God hath had mercy upon you, and hath given you grace to know your calling. Herein it appears that you are the chosen of God, and of the flock of Christ. My sheep, saith he, John x. hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of mine hand.

For our gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance. That you have yielded obedience unto the word, and that my ministry hath been effectual among you, comes not of any power in yourselves or in me, it is the work of God.

He hath blessed my ministry; he hath blessed your hearts. It is the gift of God, lest any man should boast thereof. Hereof he speaks to the Corinthians—Who is Paul then, and who is Apollos, but the ministers by whom ye believed, and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. 1 Cor. iii. It is he which hath the key of David, which openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth. Without him we can do nothing; he guideth us and all our counsels, and leadeth us unto all truth. No man can come unto me, saith Christ, John vi. except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him. And by the prophet Ezekiel, God saith, I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you; I will put my Spirit within you, and will cause you to walk in my statutes, and you shall keep my judgments, and do them, Ezekiel xxxvi. And by the prophet Jeremiah—I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts. Therefore David makes his prayer, Teach me, O Lord; give me understanding, and I will keep thy laws. Psal. cxix.

The words of the preacher enter in at the ear; the Spirit of God conveyeth them into the heart. Augustine saith, The gospel is declared: some there are which believe; some there are which believe not: they which believe, hear it inwardly by the Father, and so learn it; they which believe not, hear it only with their outward sense, and not with inward feeling, and therefore learn it not. As much as to say, To them it is given to believe; to the other it is not given. In the Acts of the apostles (xvi.) Lydia, a woman of the city of the Thyatireans, heard the preaching of the apostle Paul; but it is said, Whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things that Paul spake. The people which said unto Peter, and the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? heard all the words of Peter; but they had another teacher, who gave force unto the word, and made it fruitful in them, and therefore it is said, They were pricked in their hearts.

This also appeared in the disciples who walked towards Emmaus, Luke xxiv. they heard Christ open the Scriptures unto them; they reasoned with him; yet until their eyes were opened, they knew him not. His word crept into their ears, but it was the Spirit of God who wrought within them; who inflamed their hearts, and made them to know him. Thus God blesseth his word, and maketh it yield fruit

in such measure as his wisdom hath appointed. His blessing appeareth greater when many are converted, yet is his word all one, and the power thereof no whit shorter when it is utterly refused, or received but of few. Surely, saith God, as the rain cometh down, and the snow, from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it fruitful, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth; so shall my word be that goeth out of my mouth. It shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it, Isaiah lv. It is the word of the living God which is blessed for ever; and blessed is that heart which can receive it; which God instructeth, and giveth knowledge of his word; which so learns it that he is assured of the truth thereof, and nothing doubts but it is indeed the word of life. Which saith thereof, This is the way, in which if I walk, I shall certainly go forward to the city of my God; this is the truth, if I hearken unto it, I shall never be deceived. Whosoever findeth himself endued with this grace, he doth as plainly and evidently judge of the words of God, and try out the truth thereof from the devices and doctrines of men, as a man of clear eyesight is able to judge of colours, and to know one colour from another. Yea, in this respect, is the knowledge of that, more certain, because colours do fade and alter, and many times one colour thereby waxeth like another: but the truth of God doth never alter; it continueth one through all ages; it is the word of everlasting life: heaven and earth shall perish, but one tittle thereof shall not be lost: the truth of God shall be established for ever; the humble shall hear it, and be glad.

As ye know after what manner we were among you for your sakes. You know how I behaved myself, and after what manner I have lived among you. You know my first coming and entering unto you. You know what doctrine I have taught, and what hath been my conversation of life. I never deceived any, nor offered wrong unto the simplest. I sought not you nor yours, but those things which are of Jesus. I have lived by the labour of my hands, in watchings, in hunger, in cold, and nakedness. God hath ordained, that they which teach the gospel, should live by the gospel. Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? But I have not used this liberty; for I have a great care, lest by any means I should offend you: yet would I never flatter any in that thing which they had done amiss.

I never spared to rebuke evil. If I should fear, or seek to please men, I were not the servant of Christ. I seek not mine own glory, but the glory of Him that sent me, who also hath made me a minister of his gospel. I have forsaken all things, my goods and life, my flesh, and my body, and am daily in perils, compassed daily by persecution, and see death daily before mine eyes, for the love I bear to you, and for the care I have of the church. You are the Lord's sheep, I am your shepherd; you are the house of God, I am your builder; you are God's orchard, I am your overseer and workman. I shall give an account for your souls. You know how tenderly I have loved you in the Lord. Your grief hath been my grief; your joy hath been my joy. I have prayed for you day and night, and have given thanks to God for you, and rejoiced in your behalf. What is more dear to a man than life? yet have I desired to yield up my life, that you might live; I have been ready to suffer death, if thereby I might do you good. These things you cannot but remember; your conscience beareth me witness that I have thus lived among you for your sake.

Verse 6. *And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, and received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost.*

He commendeth the godly for the practice of that which they have learned and seen in him, in that they have received the gospel, and framed their lives accordingly, and have continued steadfast in the same, in the midst of persecution. Herein he doth not only lay out himself and the other apostles for an example, but tells them that this way is also trodden out by our Lord himself; who, as he is the way, and the light that lighteneth every man which cometh into the world, so did he bear his cross, and did lay down his life for his sheep: therefore he said to his disciples, Matt. x. The disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord; it is enough for the disciple to be as his Master is, and the servant as his Lord. If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household!

But this is reckoned unto them for happiness—Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake falsely. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets, which were before you,

Matt. v. They slew them, and drowned them, hewed them with swords, and cut them in pieces with saws. If any man, saith our Saviour, will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross and follow me, Matt. xvi. So far must the children of God be from the love of this world; in such sort must he forsake his own life, and endure affliction, who will come unto Christ.

In the old law, the priests went on and carried the ark before, and the people came after; in token that they should give good example, and the people should follow them. The priest was appointed to be a shrill trumpet, sounding in the ears of the people, and the people were commanded to prepare themselves for the battle of the Lord of hosts. Therefore, saith St. Paul, so have I followed the Lord, and so have you followed me, and received the word, not in affliction only, but in much affliction. Where he describes the unmerciful hearts and tyrannous hate of the wicked against all those that follow the Lamb, and receive the word of God with gladness. No torment so cruel, no device so strange, no manner of death so horrible, which has not been borne, or which is not laid upon them. Their bodies are cast into prisons; they are stripped out of their houses, and spoiled of their goods. Thus do the enemies of God work tyranny and much affliction unto the godly; they consume their bodies in fire, shed their blood without measure, throw out their bones, and scatter them upon the face of the earth; and this do they, not as against murderers, robbers, adulterers, or such like; but only because they receive the word, and bear a love to the truth, and cannot deny the power thereof.

With joy of the Holy Ghost. This is that which passeth all natural sense and wisdom. Many seem to take in good part, and to abide patiently, afflictions, loss of goods, imprisonment, and loss of life. But no man can rejoice in the suffering of these things, but the child of God; no man but he whom Christ hath chosen out of the world; but he whose name is written in the book of life; but he in whom the Spirit beareth witness with his spirit that he is the child of God. He knows that through many tribulations he must enter into rest; he knows the wicked could have no power over him, unless it were given them from above; he knows that all is done for the best, to them that love God, and that God could dispose means, if it were so expedient, to bring to nought all the devices of the ungodly.

When the servants of God were cast into the hot burning furnace, because they would not worship the golden image that the king Nebuchadnezzar had set up, who would have thought that the fire could not burn? or that their bodies should not have been consumed? yet God in the midst of the fire preserved them so, and not one hair of their heads was burnt, neither were their coats changed, nor any smell of fire came upon them, Dan. iii. Let us never forget this notable example of God's power to deliver his servants, that we may ever be earnest and careful to profess our faith in him, and to strive unto the death for the setting forth of his glory.

It fares even so with the children of God in the persecutions of this world. Troubles, miseries, and adversities, compass them, as the fiery furnace encompassed those three men of God; but God covereth them with his mercy as with a cloud, that nothing shall hurt them. I say not all that stand in like defence, shall in like sort be so preserved that their bodies shall not be pierced; for God suffers the wicked to destroy and kill his servants, and to consume their bodies to dust and ashes: yet are his servants warned not to fear them. When the apostles were beaten because they had spoken in the name of Jesus, they departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for his name, Acts v. We rejoice, saith St. Paul, in tribulation, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us, Rom. v.

The comfort which is given in this case to the godly, is hidden within them; for to him that overcometh shall be given a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.—The afflictions of this present time are not worthy the glory which shall be showed unto us, Rom. viii. When our Saviour did see the time of his passion draw near, he said to his disciples, Luke xxii. You are they which have continued with me in my temptations; therefore I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. And in his sermon upon the mount he saith, Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, Matt. v. The case shall be altered: it

shall be between them and their persecutors, as it was between Lazarus and the rich man. When the wicked and cruel tyrants shall see them in the presence of the throne of God, because they came out of great tribulation, and have washed their long robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb, Rev. vii. the God of Abraham shall say unto the wicked, Sons, remember that you in your lifetime received your pleasures, and likewise these men pains; now, therefore, are they comforted, and you tormented. They are taken out of affliction into rest, from their bonds into liberty, out of prison into a kingdom, out of misery into glory, from life unto death.

The promise of this comfort is often renewed. The prophet David saith, Psal. cxxvi. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. Our Saviour telleth his disciples, John xvi. Ye shall weep and lament, and the world shall rejoice; and you shall sorrow; but your sorrow shall be turned to joy. St. John heard a voice from heaven, saying, Blessed be the dead, which hereafter die in the Lord; even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them, Rev. xiv. He is commanded to write unto the angel of the church of Smyrna; Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold, it shall come to pass, that the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that you may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life, Rev. ii. Thus God suffers his servants to be sifted, and to be tried as pure gold in the furnace, and receives them as a sweet-smelling savour of burnt sacrifice. And this is it whereof the apostle puts the Thessalonians in remembrance—that they are strengthened by the Holy Ghost, not only to abide such afflictions as they suffer, because they have received the gospel, but also to rejoice because they are assured that whatsoever shall happen unto them, they are the children of God.

Verse 7. *So that you were as examples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia.*

8. *For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only; but your faith also, which is toward God, spread abroad in all quarters, that we need not to speak any thing.*

9. *For they themselves show of you what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how you turned from idols to God, to serve the living and true God.*

10. *And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come.*

The countries round about them, were drawn, by the example of the Thessalonians, to believe the gospel preached unto them; You are, saith the apostle, as the bright sunbeams; they behold you, and rejoice of you, even as of the morning light. You are a holy city, set upon a hill; you cannot be hid; your faith is a pattern of faith; your life is a pattern of life unto them. They have learned of you how to guide their ways. You have called them back from error and from ungodliness, to serve the true and living God; you are made unto them a sweet-smelling savour of life unto life. For so it hath pleased God to make his gospel known in all places, through you, and to make you the builders of his church. When they behold your godly conversation, which is in Christ, they are ashamed of themselves. When they behold your light, then they find fault with their own darkness. Oh! say they, this is a holy people, this is a people that feareth God. Let us hear then what they teach. Let us lead our lives in holiness and righteousness as they do.

Let us, by hearing these words, enter into ourselves. God hath given his light to shine upon us; he hath blessed us with the knowledge of his gospel. Let us take heed, that we turn not the light into darkness, nor the truth of God into lies. Many thousand eyes are set upon us, to look upon and behold us. Let us be an example of godliness. Let us be as a light to them that yet abide in darkness. Let not the name of God be evil spoken of, through us. His name is holy. Wo be unto the world, saith Christ, because of offences; for it must needs be, that offences shall come; but wo be unto that man by whom the offence cometh. Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea, Matt. xviii. It were better for that man, if he had never been born. For the blood of them that perish by his offence, shall be required at his hands. The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against those that are such, because they withhold the truth in unrighteousness. The kingdom of God shall be taken away from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof.

It follows, *From you sounded the word of the Lord, not*

in Macedonia and Achaia only, &c. If a man carry in his hand a lighted burning candle, it gives light not only to him that carries it, but to all those which are in the house; and they also see it which are without. Even so, if any be the child of knowledge, and carry about him the light of God, he not only tastes of the comfort thereof himself, and works comfort to those that appertain to the church of God, but lightens also the hearts of pagans and infidels which are abroad. Such as are bathed or perfumed with precious ointments or powders, have not only the pleasure to themselves, but the savour thereof casts itself out, and is pleasant to all those which stand by. The gospel is the light of God. It shines in the darkness of this world. It is the sweet incense and savour of God. Wheresoever the breath thereof is received, it bringeth life.

But your faith also which is towards God, spread abroad in all quarters. As the lightning is seen from one part of the air to the other, and as the sound of great noise spreads itself far and wide, so does the light of good conversation in the godly show itself forth. And therefore he tells them, they have filled all the country of Macedonia with knowledge, and with wonder at their faith and steadfastness in the truth. As if he had said, Great is the renown of your king Alexander, and your country is famous. He overran the whole world, and subdued it. He conquered Greece, Asia, Arabia, Phrygia, Armenia, Scythia, and India. Kings and princes fell down before him. The whole world stood in awe of his name. Yet Alexander had but the power and force of men. He had great treasures of gold and silver. He had numbers of horses, and camels, and elephants. He had swords, bills, spears, and darts, and such like artillery and armour. These were the things wherewith he overcame his enemies. Hereby both he and his people were renowned.

What then may be said of the battle which you have fought, or of the victory which you have gotten? You have won that which Alexander could never win. You have overcome yourselves. You have overcome the world. He conquered the bodies of many, and had them at commandment; but their souls stood out, and would not be conquered. You have subdued your souls, and brought them to the obedience of the gospel. You have overrun all the country, and triumphed among the people. And all this is brought to pass, without force, without policy, without

armour, without artillery, only by your patience and suffering for the gospel's sake.

That we need not to speak any thing. To make the commendation of their faith more evident, he tells them, the fame of their zeal and constancy is known in all places. Whithersoever I go, saith he, they know you, and speak of you, and hearken unto you. Hereby appears how needful it is, that chief towns and cities be well governed, that vice in them be severely punished, that virtue and godliness be maintained, and the people instructed, because the examples of such places spread abroad in all quarters nigh them.

They themselves show of you, what manner of entrance we had unto you. After what sort you received me, and how dear I was unto you. All places were laid and beset for me, to seek my life; but you enlarged yourselves towards me, and took me in. When I was in prison you came to me, and feared no man; you were not ashamed of my bonds, you were ready to lose your own lives to save me. This is spoken of to your great praise.

And how you turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God. Here are set down in few words, the sum and parts of Christian religion. The first is, to forsake all idols, to turn from them; then to turn unto God, and to put all our trust in him; lastly, to serve the living and true God. The service of God and idols cannot stand together. No man can turn unto God, that turneth not from idols. This is a wonderful effect of the gospel, to forsake idols and serve God, to leave customs and the usage of forefathers, and give ear to the truth. To love from the heart, that which thou didst sometimes hate, and to detest from the heart, that which thou didst sometimes love, is strange and wonderful. But to do this for Christ who was born of poor Mary, whom the wise and learned, and mighty men of this world despised, who was crucified and hanged between two thieves, whom they scorned upon the cross; to follow, or believe, or put trust in him; to call him the power and the wisdom of God, to confess him to be, in whom all Israel shall be blessed, and in whom all the world shall be saved, to give body or life for his sake, is a strange miracle. No king, no prince, no law, no wisdom of man can work this, and bring it to pass. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And this doth he in those only who receive the word of the gospel with joy of the Holy Ghost.

And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised, &c. The Holy Scriptures do not only teach us to turn unto God, but also what it is that God giveth unto all them which seek him; even that they be delivered from the wrath to come; and for whose sake he delivereth us—for Jesus his Son, whom he raised from the dead. Therefore the apostle tells them, howsoever they are rejected or despised as foolish among men, if they continue in the things which they have learned, they shall be wise unto salvation: that therefore they lift up their heads and look for their Redeemer. That they say, Thy kingdom come, and, Come Lord Jesus; because he is appointed by God to be the Judge of the quick and the dead; and he shall come in the glory of his Father; and he delivers from the wrath to come, all those that trust in him. For among men there is none other name given under heaven, whereby we must be saved. This is the depth of all knowledge, and the comfort which passeth all understanding, that against all temptations and afflictions, which oppress our conscience, or vex and trouble our bodies, we may grow strong by faith in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, and ascertain ourselves of his coming from heaven for our deliverance.

CHAPTER II.

Verse 1. *For you yourselves know, brethren, that our entrance unto you was not in vain.*

The apostle takes witness of them, of his diligence and pains taken in the fulfilling of his ministry, seeing it hath such good success among them, that they by the preaching of the gospel, have forsaken superstition, and are turned unto, and do now serve the true and living God, and do believe forgiveness of their sins and deliverance from the wrath to come, by Jesus Christ.

It is a great and deadly smart to the faithful servant of God, to see the people wilful, and to despise the word of their salvation. Hereof Isaiah complains, chap. lxv. I have spread out my hands all the day long, to a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, even after their own imaginations. They stopped their ears, and would not hear, nor be reclaimed, nor return, that they might be saved. And Jeremiah, chap. ix. Oh! that my

head were full of water, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people, for they be adulterers, and an assembly of rebels. Sword and destruction cometh upon them, and they will not see. Oh! that they would give an ear, and repent in time! Again, chap. iv. My people is foolish, they have not known me, they are foolish children, and have no understanding; thay are wise to do evil; but to do well, they have no knowledge. David crieth out, Psalm iv. O ye sons of men, how long will ye love vanity, and seek after lies? Why forsake you the truth of God, and have no regard to his mercy? So our Saviour mourneth over Jerusalem, Luke xiii. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen her brood under her wings, and ye would not!—How carefully and tenderly have I sought thy salvation! How often have I called upon thee, sent unto thee my servants, and poured out my blessings before thine eyes! So bitter and mournful a thing is it to all those that seek the glory of God, to see no fruit follow of their labours; to see the people continue ignorant and wilful and seeking their own destruction.

Therefore they turn themselves unto God, who is the Father of lights, and God of all comfort; in whose hand are the hearts of the people, that his word may have free passage and be glorified. That God will open unto them the door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, and publish the secret of the gospel boldly; that he will give power to his word, declared by them, and assist them with his Holy Spirit; that he will open the eyes of the people, that they may see, and turn their hearts, that they may be converted. So did David make his prayer, Psal. li. Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise.—Albeit my mouth is simple, and rude, and barbarous; yet if thou wilt, it may be an instrument to declare thy glory.—Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Be favourable unto Sion; build the walls of Jerusalem. Thus do they lift up their hands, and call unto God, that he would send down his light into the hearts of the people, that what they hear, they hear not in vain, but may receive it, and understand it, and keep it. For, unless God direct the heart, and make it fit to receive instruction,

the preacher, though he be ever so desirous to do good, labours in vain.

God alone disposeth the ways of men; it is he who trieth the corn from the chaff. He knoweth whom he will bring to be of his fold, and make to hear his voice. Many times he blesseth his word with great increase among them who at the first despise it, and entreat cruelly the preachers and messengers thereof. When Paul disputed, and exhorted the Jews, and the Grecians at Corinth, and found little fruit of his labour, and that there were few or none that liked his doctrine, and many enemies who resisted and blasphemed it; he purposed to depart and go away from them. Then the Lord said unto Paul in the night, by a vision, Fear not, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall lay hands on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city, Acts xviii. They shall hear thee; if not now, yet they shall hear thee at some other time. They shall bear thy sayings in mind. I will be with thee, I will open their hearts, and make them obedient to the gospel, and they shall be turned unto me. Thou shalt see the fruit of thy labours, and that thy coming unto them hath not been in vain.

Verse 2. *But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated at Philippi, as ye know, we were bold in our God, to speak unto you the gospel of God with much striving.*

The story of these his persecutions is written in the sixteenth of the Acts. He was stript, and scourged with rods, and cast into prison, and put in hazard of life. Yet, notwithstanding he was thus evil entreated at Philippi, when he came to Thessalonica he was nothing discouraged, but proceeded more boldly than before, and went into the synagogue of the Jews, and disputed three sabbath-days, and taught them that Christ is that Messias, even the Son of God.

But, that we may the better conceive how mightily God works, and what great strength he gives to weak creatures, when he appoints them to set forth his glory, let us behold the boldness of the apostle in speaking the gospel unto them. To whom did he speak? To the Jews, the enemies of the cross of Christ. Where? Not secretly, and in corners; but openly, in their synagogue; for he feared no man. What time chose he? Then when all the Jews

were assembled together. How often? Three sabbath-days together. In what city? In Thessalonica, the greatest and most famous city of all that country. How was he entreated? There arose great trouble and contention. They resisted him, spake against him, and sought to destroy him. For what cause? what had he deserved? what had he taught? The gospel of God, and of Christ, of the kingdom, and of the life to come; the gospel in which God offers his grace, and reconciliation, and comfort, and peace, and salvation.

Who would think such joyful tidings should not be welcome? what eye would not willingly open itself to behold the brightness of the sun; what ear will refuse to hear God speak? But it has always been so; there have ever been some that have loved darkness rather than light. The world shall never be without some Annas or Caiaphas, or Judas or Pilate; the children of the devil shall always set themselves against the children of God.

The cause of tumults and troubles proceeds not from the gospel; the gospel of Christ is the gospel of peace; but the enemies of the gospel are stirrers of unquietness, and inflamers of war. Abel was simple, Cain spiteful; Jacob smooth, Esau rough and hairy; David gentle, Saul cruel; Joseph innocent, his brethren wicked, and fell upon him; the apostles humble in heart, and peacemakers; the pharisees bloodthirsty, and sought to put them to death. The like examples are before us this day. The whole world is in an uproar, and great troubles and afflictions are in all places; no man is able to declare the misery thereof: let no man, therefore, slander or forsake the gospel; it hath been so from the beginning, and from time to time.

Such troubles, confusion, and misery are wrought, not by the gospel, or them that receive the gospel, but by those who resist it; they practise all means, and turn all things upside down, rather than it should take place; the wicked are angry therewith, they gnash their teeth and consume away. This is the cause for which the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause them to die, Matt. x. Cain murdered Abel, because God had respect unto Abel and to his offering; Esau could not abide Jacob, because Isaac had given him his blessing; the brethren of Joseph sought to make him away, because God had a favour unto him; Saul was wrathful against David, because God gave

him great gifts of courage and strength, and wisdom; the Egyptians loathed the children of Israel, because they were God's people; the Galatians resisted Paul, because he preached the truth. Therefore, saith St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. We labour, and are rebuked, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those which believe. Likewise, saith our Saviour, John xvi. They shall excommunicate you; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me.

Even so stands it with the church of God this day. There is nothing new under the sun. Whatsoever is done now hath been done before. Who will lift up his eyes, and look to the doings of men, shall see Cain rise up against Abel, Esau against Jacob, the cruel brethren against Joseph, Saul against David, Pharaoh against Moses, the Egyptians against the people of God, the high-priest and the pharisees against Christ and all that will be his disciples. They change peace into war, they turn judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood; they resist the truth of God, to establish devices and doctrines of men. But, blessed be God, they shall not prevail. He giveth us peace; he hath made us turn our swords into mattocks: he hath taught us all together with one mouth, and one heart, to praise him, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. His truth is mighty, and shall prevail.

Verse 3. *For our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile.*

4. *But as we were allowed of God, that the gospel should be committed unto us, so we speak, not as they that please men, but God, which trieth our hearts.*

God, saith he, hath chosen me from my mother's womb, and set me apart to the office of an apostle; he hath appointed me to carry his name before the Gentiles; therefore, as he hath given me charge to preach the gospel, and to bring the people unto him from the power of Satan, so I speak truly, faithfully, sincerely, not as the words of men, but as the words of God. I have used no deceit, nor taught you to follow traditions of men instead of the commandments of God. In like manner saith he to the Corinthians, (1 xi.) I have received of the Lord, that which I also have

declared unto you. And again, 2 Cor. v. We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you through us. For this cause he saith unto them, 2 Cor. iv. Seeing that we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not, but cast from us the cloaks of shame, and walk not in craftiness; neither handle we the word of God deceitfully; but in declaration of the truth, we approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. In these speeches he asks credit, because of his upright handling of the word, and charges the false prophets for marring the word of God with unclean aud deceitful corruptions and glosses.

In foreign countries, women that have no natural beauty of their own, use to paint and colour their faces, that whereas they lack beauty indeed, yet they may seem beautiful. Even so is it oftentimes in matters of religion. Such as hold not the true religion, as it is taught by the word of God, and has been practised in those churches which the apostles planted, and among those Christians who lived nighest unto that time when the apostles preached; because they know their religion which they profess now will not agree with that, they deal deceitfully, and with guile. These are false apostles, and deceitful workmen; they beguile our senses, and blind our eyes; they call us to worship an idol instead of the true and living God; they lead us out of the light into darkness; from the truth into error; from knowledge unto ignorance; they forbid lawful matrimony, and call it filthiness, and allow open stews and harlots, as a thing which impairs not their holiness.

I will not speak all that I might, nor in such sort as the matter occasions; yet can I not but say somewhat of their spiritual craftiness, in abusing and beguiling the people of God.

The Egyptians furnished richly, and decked their churches beautifully, and all in honour of a cat! Many things among these men carry great show of holiness, which are nothing else but cloaks of their shame, and manifest proof that they are not allowed of God, but are crept in by deceit and by guile.

Single life carries a fair show; but, O merciful God! what shame and villanies have been covered with this cloak! Pius the second saw somewhat, when he said, "As marriage was taken away from priests upon great considerations, so now upon other greater considerations it were to

be restored to them again."* Jerome saw somewhat, when he wrote thus: "You may see some that pretend gravity, are girded, and go in black, and have long beards, who can in no wise leave the company of women, but keep house with them, and banquet with them. They take young maids into their service, and do all things as if they were married, save that they lack the name of marriage." Origen saith, "They teach chastity, and keep not chastity." And Epiphanius, "They refuse marriage, but not lust or pleasure."

Images are fair and beautiful; the churches are decked and beset with them; but they are a cloak of shame; they are set in place of teachers; the priests are ignorant, and live in idleness, and send the people to learn at pictures; they call them laymen's books. Yet what profiteth the image? saith Habakkuk, for the maker thereof hath made it an image, and a teacher of lies. And Jeremiah saith, chap. x. The stock is a doctrine of vanity.

What is their meaning to speak and pray in the church in a strange tongue? This is a cloak of their shame. Their priests are so unlearned, they can scarce understand English, yet they save their credit, seeing they are able to read Latin. And hereby they cover all their blasphemies and superstitions, because the people cannot understand, and therefore cannot reprove them.

I speak nothing of their relics, pilgrimages, purgatory, and such other cloaks of shame, which they use to hide their covetousness, and thereby draw unto themselves the riches of the whole world. They cannot say with the apostle, Our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile.

I know there are some who lay it unto our charge, as the false apostles did unto Paul, that we use the word of God deceitfully. They find fault with our translations of the Scriptures. They spare not to say there are a thousand faults in the New Testament; yet could they never set down five hundred, or one hundred, or fifty, or twenty-five, or five.†

If there be errors in the translation, I know they were men which translated it, and they might err like men. May no translation be allowed that is not altogether perfect? as if the Greek translation were without fault, or as if many faults were not in the common vulgar translation in Latin, or in the translation of Jerome. What then? must the Greek translation be forbidden? must Jerome's translation,

* Pius II. was pope in 1458. † See Tindal.

or the vulgar translation, be forbidden! As for the old Latin common translation, though many learned men have showed the gross errors thereof; yet have they well provided for it in the council of Trent, where they say thus,

"Let no man dare or presume by any manner of colour to refuse the old common translation of the Bible." Yet is no translation of ours so corrupt as that which they have thus privileged. But if it were true, which they falsely report, reason would that they should correct the errors, and so set it abroad. But thus they bear you in hand, that they may bring you in hatred of it, and pull you from the reading of the Scriptures. I will not say in what sort they abuse the word of God. What speak I of abusing? Nay, they do manifestly against and contrary to the word.

The word of God teaches us forgiveness of our sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ once offered; they teach contrary, that the same blood is daily offered, and Christ as often new born, as the priest pleases to say mass. The word of God forbids to make any graven image, to bow down to it, or worship it. They teach contrary, that images are to be worshipped, and even with such honour as is due to the patterns themselves. The word of God teaches us to pray in a known tongue; they teach the contrary, and account it for heresy to pray in a known tongue. The word of God charges all states of men to be subject to their prince or higher power; they withdraw their obedience unto civil magistrates, and teach the people to resist authority. Erasmus saith, in his notes upon these words of Christ, Let these go their way, John xviii. "I know a divine of great fame and account for his learning, who wrested these words of Christ, to defend the immunity or lawless state of clergymen." But this did he ridiculously, saith Erasmus.

It would be over long to declare unto you the foolish, or, rather, the blasphemous applying of the Scriptures, to approve their gestures at mass, and the sovereignty and chiefty which they challenge. One of their bishops in the late council of Trent* said of Paul the third, then pope, "The pope, which is the light, is come into the world:" which are the words of the evangelist, declaring the Godhead of Christ!

By these few it may appear how unjustly they charge us with corrupting the word of God, and how truly this fault is to be laid unto those who either abridge the sense of the Scripture, or reach it further than it yields, or utterly refuse

* Cornelius Epis. Riton.

to stand to the authority thereof, and in no case can they like that the people of God should read the Scriptures. They have adjudged them heretics, and consumed their bodies in the fire, who have defended in speech, and sought to maintain the doctrine of truth set down in the Holy Scriptures.

The apostle saith, *he was allowed of God.* They that enter into the ministry must be allowed not of men only, but of God. Therefore, whosoever takes that charge over the people must look narrowly into himself, and see whether his calling be of God. If he have not a testimony that God hath called him inwardly, all other outward calling is to small purpose. God is a righteous judge; he will say to the conscience and to the heart of such an one, Friend, how camest thou in hither without thy wedding-garment? who brought thee in? give an account of thy stewardship. Thine account is great.

And because some are this day to be admitted into this office, let us pray unto God for them, that God will allow them, that he will give them hearts to conceive, and tongues to speak, the truth of God; that they may be the servants of Christ, and disposers of the mysteries of God; that they may be the salt of the earth, and the light of the world; that they may lay out the Lord's money to his advantage; and so it may be said unto them, Thou hast been faithful in little, I will make thee ruler over much; enter into thy Master's joy, Matt. xxv.

Verse 5. *Neither did we use flattering words, as you know, nor coloured covetousness; God is record.*

6. *Neither sought we praise of men; neither of you, nor of others.*

The servant and messenger of God must so speak, as God speaketh. God speaketh deeply, and to the heart; he lanceth the spirit, and woundeth the inward parts; he biddeth Isaiah show the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. God himself saith, I visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, Exod. xx. Again he saith, If ye shall despise my ordinances, either if your soul abhor my laws, so that ye will not do all my commandments, I will set my face against you, and you shall fall before your enemies, and they that hate you shall reign over you. Leviticus xxvi. But unto those that repent them of their sins, and turn unto him, God saith, Isa. xlv. Turn

thou unto me, and ye shall be saved. Again, Jer. iii. Thou disobedient Israel, return, saith the Lord, and I will not let my wrath fall upon you. So must the minister of God; he must show forth the mercy of God, and not hide his judgments; he hath the Lord's business in hand, he may not do it negligently. A flatterer makes it his greatest care to please men; he seeks their favour; he fears to displease, and dares not speak that which will be evil taken. When he sees a thief, he runneth with him, and is partaker with the adulterers; he seweth pillows under the arms of sinners: whosoever saith, Nay; his nay is ready; and if any say, Yea; he is ready to say yea. He changes often as the weathercock; he dares not strive against the stream; his heart is at the will of others; he seeketh some gain; he seeks his own glory, and not the glory of God.

They which are such, are called in the Scriptures, hirelings, dumb dogs that cannot bark. They deny God, betray his truth, and deceive his people: they lock up the truth in lies. Of such saith Ecclesiasticus, ch. ii. Wo unto them that have a double heart; and to the wicked lips. And, James i. A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways. And, Luke xi. He that is not with me is against me; and, he that gathereth not with me, scattereth. And, 1 Kings xviii. How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, then go after him. And again, 2 Cor. vi. What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? Cursed is he which flattereth the people, and is unfaithful in the Lord's work.

Nothing is so requisite in the steward of God, as that he be found faithful, and that he speak boldly those things whereunto the Lord hath sent him: that they keep not back the message given them of God, nor fear to do their errand, for any malice of men. Who is it, saith St. Peter, (1. iii.) that will harm you, if you follow that which is good? Notwithstanding, blessed are ye if ye suffer for righteousness' sake; yea, fear not their fear, neither be troubled. If the apostle speak this comfort to all Christians who have a care to serve God; and thereby exhorts them to steadfastness, and to sanctify the Lord in their hearts, and to be ready to give an account of their faith, and of the hope that is in them; how much more ought preachers, and they who are appointed to the ministry, to lay aside all fear and flattery of men! Wo unto them that go down into Egypt

for help! The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: and when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, the helper shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they shall all together fail, Isaiah xxxi.

Christ telleth his disciples they are salt, and they are light. Salt must needs be sharp to a rotten wound; light must needs be painful to a sore eye. A good physician must needs trouble and disquiet his sick patient before he can heal his disease; and a good surgeon must needs lance and rip up festered wounds. We are surgeons; we are physicians. The word of God is committed unto us, that by us it might be applied to season the earth, and that the light thereof should shine forth in all the world. Cry out aloud; lift up thy voice as a trumpet, Isa. lviii. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?

When God had called Jeremiah to the office of a prophet, and said, chap. i. Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee, shalt thou speak; he said further, Fear not their faces, lest I destroy thee before them. For, behold! this day I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and walls of brass against the whole land. Thou shalt not bend; thou shalt not yield: thou shalt be a consuming fire; they shall be stubble before thee. Likewise saith God to Abraham, Gen. xv. Fear not, Abraham; I am thy buckler, and thine exceeding great reward. When Moses sought to refuse the message, and thought himself over simple to go unto Pharaoh, God answered, Certainly I will be with thee, Exod. iii. And afterwards he saith, I have made thee Pharaoh's god; he shall tremble and quake at thy voice, Exod. vii. So saith Christ, What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the houses. And fear ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell, Matt. x.

The consideration hereof ever moved the prophets and apostles to warrant their sayings with authority from God, and to set apart all fear when they spake in his name. When Ahab reproved Elias, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? he answered, I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord; and thou hast followed Baalim.

1 Kings xviii. The prophet Isaiah is bold with the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and saith, Hear the word of the Lord, O princes of Sodom! hearken unto the law of our God, O people of Gomorrah! John the Baptist nothing feared to tell Herod, a mighty prince, It is not lawful for thee to have her to wife, Matt. xiv. If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, saith Balaam, Num. xxiv. I cannot pass the commandment of the Lord, to do good or bad of mine own mind; what the Lord shall command, that same will I speak. Moses was bid to tell Pharaoh, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee, Exod. vii. Christ called James and John, the sons of Zebedee, Boanerges, which is, the sons of thunder, because they should not flatter, but raise tempests, and lighten and thunder in the ears and hearts of their hearers.

St. Paul saith, I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. It is the word of God, and shall endure for ever. He hath not given us the spirit of fear to flatter, but the spirit of might and of power, to speak roughly and courageously where occasion so requires; and therefore saith, If I would please men, I were not the servant of Christ. But I preach God's doctrine, and not the doctrine of men. I seek to please God, and not men.

The pharisees sought to please men, and to deceive the people. They taught them to walk in the ways of their forefathers; to believe as they believed; to do as they had done. They flattered them, and said, You are the church of God; you are God's people; you are the sons of Abraham; you cannot err; you cannot be deceived. They that in this sort flatter the people and deceive them, they serve not Jesus Christ, but their belly, and through flattery and fair speech seduce the hearts of the simple.

Nor coloured covetousness. The scribes and the pharisees devoured widows' houses, under pretence of their long prayers. They prayed, and made money of their prayers; they gave alms, and made money of their almsgiving; they fasted, and made money of their fasting. This did the scribes and the pharisees; their doings continue still. They are dead; their name is taken away; but their profession abideth. As they made gains of their prayers, and alms, and fasting, so do some now make great gains, and wax rich under pretence of holiness. They have brought in a profession of wilful chastity, and have forbidden marriage in some

whole estates of men. No doubt chastity is a holy thing; but they have given license for money, to such as would, to forsake their vow of chastity. They have forbidden to eat certain meats upon certain days. God left meats as free to the choice of every man, as he left his sun to shine freely to the use of all men. And they make free liberty for money, to eat what every man liketh. They make money of purgatory, money of pardons, and money of their masses. They make money of Peter and of Paul, of the apostles and martyrs, and of Christ himself. These are they of whom St. Peter speaks: Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, 2 Pet. ii. One saith of them, The court of Rome careth not for that sheep which hath no fleece. I will not lay forth at large, how they do all things for covetousness. I have no pleasure in speaking ill. God grant us so to deliver the gospel aright, that we use not the truth of God for a cloak of covetousness.

Neither sought we praise of men; neither of you nor of others. This is another hinderance of the course of the gospel, when the ministers thereof love the praise of men more than the praise of God. How can ye believe, saith Christ, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh of God alone? John v. How far the apostle was from this ambition it appeared; for he was reviled and evil spoken of, and counted the filth and outcast of the world.

Verse 7. *When we might have been chargeable as the apostles of Christ; but we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children.*

8. *Thus being affectioned to you, our good will was to have dealt unto you not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.*

9. *For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail; for we laboured day and night, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, and preached unto you the gospel of God.*

10. *You are witnesses, and God, how holily, and justly, and unblamably, we behaved ourselves among you that believe.*

I might have required meat and drink, and other things necessary at your hands; for who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who goeth a warfare

at any time at his own cost? Who muzzleth the mouth of the ox that treadeth out corn? We plant the vineyard of the Lord of hosts; we feed Christ's flock; we go to warfare, and stand in the watch and defence of your safety. We are the poor oxen that tread out the corn, which feed you to salvation. We are your servants; we labour to do you good; we are ordained to minister in the church of God. It were great reason we should reap your carnal things, who have sown to you spiritual things. The workman is worthy his wages; yet taught I the gospel freely, and without reward; and was ready to give my blood, my life, and my soul out of my body, for your sakes. What could you ask of me more? What greater gift could I bestow upon you?

Verse 11. *And ye know how that we exhorted you, and comforted, and besought every one of you, as a father his children,*

12. *That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.*

I took care of you as of mine own soul, and dealt with you by all ways of comfort and exhortation, that you would take heed unto yourselves, and your calling. I put you in mind that you were placed in the midst of the unfaithful people which knew not God; and that they watched you, and your doing. That their eye was upon your household, your wives, your servants, and your children, upon yourselves, and your words, to espy if they might find any occasion to speak evil of you. I besought you by the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that the name of God might not be ill spoken of through you. You cannot deny this; you must needs confess you have thus been taught; ignorance cannot be your excuse. What remains, then, but that you perform it? For the servant that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.

As a father his children. What manner of care is it that a father takes of his children? Many men are fathers of children, but what man takes the care he ought to take for them? Pastors or teachers of the people should be affected towards their people, as fathers are to their own children.

Let such as are fathers and have children, know in what sort they must be careful. Your children are a good blessing of God; they are members of the body of Christ,

and the sons of God. The kingdom of heaven belongs to them; God hath appointed his angels to guide and lead them, and to shield them from evil; and their angels are in the presence of God, and behold the face of their Father which is in heaven. They are fresh plants of the church—who knows what necessary instruments they may be in the commonwealth, and in the house of God? It is not enough to feed them, and to nourish their bodies with necessary sustenance; for this the heathen do, that know not God; and the savage and brute beasts, and the birds, which have no understanding. They breed up their young ones, and are tender and painful to provide for them. The ass, though she be dull, the bear and lion, though they are wild and cruel, yet seek they far and near to get wherewith to help their young. Therefore if there be any, or can be any, that forsakes and leaves his own, he is more beastly than the foolish ass, and more unnatural than most cruel bears, and lions, and tigers.

But in this part, men are for the most part over-careful. For this cause many build their houses with blood, and seek possessions by iniquity; they join house to house, and field to field, and will dwell alone upon the earth; they oppress the poor and needy, and do wrong to the widow and the fatherless; they make money their god, and spoil one another, and all to provide for their children. This is the cover and cloak for all their mischief—they may not leave their children unprovided for. Unhappy are the fathers, who in this sort care for their children, by the ruin and spoil of the needy and innocent, and so break the commandment of God; for their portion shall be with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. And unhappy are their children, because they are partakers of their fathers' wickedness, and therefore shall also be partakers of punishment with them. The prophet David saith, Psalm xxxvii. I have seen the wicked strong, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree: yet he passed away, and lo! he was gone; and I sought him, but he could not be found. His root was deep; his stock strong; his branches broad; he spread over and shadowed the whole country, yet he passed away! He departed, his sons died, his house soon decayed, and his name was in a little time quite forgotten!

Oh! how much better then is it to furnish the minds of your children, and to instruct them in godliness; to

teach them to know God, to lead their life virtuously; and to rebuke them, and correct them for dealing ill!

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God. Let them then learn what that good and acceptable will of God is. Show them the way in which they should walk, that they go neither to the right hand, nor to the left. The word of God is pure, and giveth understanding to the simple; it is a light to their footsteps; it teaches those that are young to amend their ways.

When Christ came into Jerusalem, the young children received him. They cried, Hosannah to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Christ giveth witness of them: By the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou set forth thy praise, Matt. xxi. The words of the little and simple children were able to confound the wisdom of the pharisees. Thus were they taught from their cradle, so careful were their godly parents for them.

Contrariwise, they cannot have any wisdom, that despise the law of the Lord; they become blind and wicked, and abominable in all their ways; they have no sense, nor feeling of the will of God; they cannot know light from darkness, nor God from Belial. Such were the little children that mocked the prophet Elisha, and said to him, Come up, thou bald-head; come up, thou bald-head, 2 Kings ii. Their bringing up was no better; their wicked fathers had taught them nothing else but wantonness; but the wrath of God fell upon them, and there were destroyed by two bears, two-and-forty of them.

Another care which a father ought to have of his children, is to lead them up in the study of virtue and of godly life. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God, Matt. v. They who keep not this way, are the children of wrath. Herein standeth the whole profession of a Christian life: For God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness, 1 Thess. iv. This is the will of God, and this is our promise made unto him, that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, that we increase in virtue, and grow from grace to grace.

A good and loving father, who sends his son to a dangerous journey, either by sea or land, first instructs him with advice, and tells him in what sort he shall avoid perils. Take heed, saith he, the way is perilous which thou must pass; the sea is terrible, the waves rise up as high as heaven, and by and by thou shalt see a pit as low as hell. The

sands may swallow thee, the rocks may destroy thee, thou shalt pass by huge mountains, and through wildernesses, where thieves will assault thee; thy heart will quake, thou shalt cry for succour, and find no man to help thee. In these places hath many a good man's child been cast away. O take heed, my son, thou art the staff and the comfort of mine age; if ought come to thee otherwise than well, I shall soon after end my days in sorrow.

If a father be thus careful, that his child should escape worldly dangers, he must be more careful of spiritual dangers, in which whosoever is lost, is lost for ever. Therefore thus will he say to him: O my son, understand what God hath done for thy sake; take heed to thyself; the world is all over strewed with snares. The devil rangeth, and seeketh whom he may devour; give no ground to him, but resist him, and he will flee from thee. Be strong in faith; the name of the Lord is a strong tower of defence; call upon him in the day of thy trouble, and he will deliver thee; he will give thee of his Spirit.

Take heed, my son, and be not deceived; let no wilfulness cast thee away. If sinners entice thee, be not a companion of them in wickedness. Fashion not thyself to the likeness of this world, for the world passeth away, and the lust thereof. He that loveth this world, the love of God is not in him. Be not like unto them that perish. Thou wast conceived and born in sin; thou art by nature the child of wrath; but God made thee meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, and hath delivered thee from the power of darkness, and hath translated thee into the kingdom of his dear Son. Receive not this grace in vain; cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Be renewed in thy heart, and in thy spirit, that it may appear I have been careful for thee.—Thus a good father seeks to train up his son, and to nurture him.

Besides these, fathers must also be careful for their children, to give them correction and chastisement. God knoweth the mould of man's heart; he seeth our inward parts; he said in the beginning, The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth. He saw that all the imaginations of the thoughts of his heart were only evil continually, Gen. vi. viii. Behold man's nature, and consider it even from our first birth; how full of affections, how wayward in the young child, which lieth in the cradle! His body is but

small, but he hath a great heart, and is altogether inclined to evil; and the more he increases in reason by years, the more he grows proud, froward, wilful, unruly and disobedient. If this sparkle be suffered to increase, it will rage over, and burn down the whole house. We are not born good, but by education we are changed, and become good.

Therefore the wise man saith, Prov. xxii. Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it away from him. And again, chap. xxix. The rod and correction give wisdom; but a child set at liberty, maketh his mother ashamed. And in the same chapter, Correct thy son, and he will give thee rest, and will give pleasures unto thy soul. He that spareth the rod hateth the child; for, If thou bring up thy son delicately, he shall make thee afraid; and if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heaviness. Also "Bow down his neck whilst he is young, and beat him on the sides whilst he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and bring sorrow to thine heart, saith the book of Ecclesiasticus xxx.

Who hath not heard the story of Eli and his sons? It is worthy to be remembered for ever. He had shrewd* children; they feared not God, but brake his commandments, and offended the people: their father heard of their doings, but took no care for it; he suffered them, and let them alone so long that God grew displeased thereat, and called unto Samuel, and said, Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, whereof whosoever shall hear, his two ears shall tingle. In that day I will raise up against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house; when I begin, I will also make an end. And I have told him, that I will judge his house for ever, for the iniquity which he knoweth, because his sons run into a slander, and he stayed them not, 1 Sam. iii. And it came to pass shortly after. The ark of God was taken by the Philistines, and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phineas, died. And Eli also, when he heard the report thereof, fell from his seat backward, and his neck was broken—such shame and confusion came upon him. This was the hand and judgment of God. In sparing his children, he cast away his children and himself altogether. But Job dealt far otherwise with his children; his eye was upon them, and he took care lest they should offend God. He sanctified them, and offered burnt-offerings for them daily; for Job thought, It may be that my sons have sin-

* Evil, wicked, mischievous.

ned, and blasphemed God in their hearts, Job i. Therefore he prayed for them: My sons, saith he, are young and tender, and lack discretion; the ways wherein they walk are slippery, they may soon be deceived, and run into danger. O Lord, be thou their guide, be thou unto them a tower of defence, let thy Holy Spirit go before them to direct them in all their ways.—So mindful was he of his children.

Infancy is the first part of our life, and, as it were, the foundation thereof. Where a virtuous and a godly childhood goeth before, there a godly and virtuous age follows after. Contrariwise, when the fathers are not careful to teach their children to know God, and to know themselves; when they do not breed them up in virtue, nor reprove them when they do amiss, they become corrupt in their understanding, and abominable in their doings, void of all knowledge and grace, and of reverence, or feeling of nature.

Verse 13. *For this cause also thank we God, without ceasing, that when you received of us the word of the preaching of God, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed, the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe.*

As the minister's duty is to teach the word of God, and divide it aright, without deceit or guile, so ought the people to receive it with reverence, and to give obedience unto it. But herein have we not power of ourselves, our readiness cometh of God; unless it please God to work within us, and to remove the vail, and to mollify our hearts; whatsoever we hear, it moves us not, it helps not our unbelief, it brings us not to the obedience of Christ.

If an earthly prince speak, or send message unto us, we give all show of reverence, and hear him with all diligence. This word is not of flesh and blood; it proceeds not from kings, or emperors, or from parliament, or from councils of men; but from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ. When this word is read, princes and emperors stand up, and lay down their swords, and uncover their heads, and bow their bodies, and do reverence, because they know it is the word of God, which God himself uttered; that it should be as the dew of heaven to moisten our souls; as a well of water springing up to everlasting life; as a savour of life unto life; and the very power of God unto salvation,

to every one that believeth. Without this word we can receive no comfort, we cannot see the light, nor grow in faith, nor abide in the church of God. It is the word of reconciliation. By it God maketh atonement between himself and the sons of men.

Therefore, when the epistles, the psalms, and the gospel, are read in our hearing, let us remember whose word we hear. Let us think thus with ourselves: These are the words of our gracious God. My God openeth his mouth from heaven above. He speaketh to me, that I may be saved; he speaketh to me, to keep me from error; to comfort me in the adversities and troubles of this life, and to lead me to the life to come.

What is the cause why so many so little regard the word of God, why they doubt it and suspect it? why they are so soon weary of it, and bear it not that reverence which belongeth to it? Because they think not, neither from whom it cometh, nor with whose blood it is sealed, nor to whose benefit it is written. Let us not be ashamed to give place to the word of God, to awake our senses, and to submit them, and our wisdom, and learning, and bodies and souls unto it. Let us not harden our hearts. Let us humble ourselves before God, and say, Behold, here am I; let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes, 2 Samuel xv.

Which also worketh in you that believe. Whosoever heareth the words of God and doeth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man that builded his house upon the sand. If ye know these things, saith Christ, blessed are ye, if ye do them, John xiii. The same word of God which Paul taught the Thessalonians, which was preached by Peter and the rest of the apostles to the faithful, which Christ received of his Father, and delivered to his church, is this day, by the mercy of God, purely and truly set down unto you. By it you are required to amend your lives, and are comforted in the promises of God for the forgiveness of your sins. If there be any, in whom it worketh not this effect, if there be any who, though they hear it, believe it not, nor are thereby renewed in their minds; it is a token that they have not received the love of the truth of the gospel; they despise the word of salvation, and it shall judge them in that day.

Verse 14. *For, brethren, you are become followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus,*

because ye have also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they of the Jews;

15. *Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and God they please not, and are contrary to all men;*

16. *And forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fulfil their sins always. For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost.*

Wherein became they followers? In suffering as they did. This is the badge and cognizance of the sons of God. Christ saith, Luke ix. If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. They followed others, not in pleasure and glory, but in trouble and persecution. For that was the way of the prophets, and apostles, and of Christ himself.

Isaiah the prophet was cut in sunder with a saw. What more cruel death? His body was rent, his bowels torn, and yet he not quite dead! In such sort it liked the cruel tormentors to sport themselves. Why? what had he done? He was a prophet. They needed no other matter against him. It was enough that they found him to be a prophet. Jeremiah was stoned to death. Wherefore? Because he called the people to repentance, that they might be saved; because he was a prophet. Amos was slain with a bar; poor old man! no reverence given to his grey head, no regard or pity was taken of him. Wherefore? Because he rebuked iniquity; because he was a prophet. Zacharias was slain when he was in his prayers, and doing sacrifice in the holy place, between the entrance and the altar. Wherefore? Because he declared the truth; because he was a prophet.

This hath been the malice and hatred of the devil. The prince of the darkness of this world hath raged so, even from the beginning. By this means he hath sought to deface the truth and glory of God, and to establish his own kingdom in shedding the blood and murdering the saints of God.

The churches of God in Judea were miserably vexed and afflicted, they were hated of all men, and counted unworthy of life. Wherefore? Because they turned to the true and living God, and believed in the name of Jesus Christ. Therefore they were stript, spoiled, beheaded, quartered, drowned, burnt, and put to most reproachful death. Who

would become their followers? Who would willingly learn to be so persecuted, and made gazing-stocks to all the world? Yet this discouraged not the Thessalonians. They were a thousand miles distant from Judea, but were joined in the fellowship of the gospel, and in brotherly love unto them. They heard of their mildness and of their constancy, and were stirred up by their example. They hearkened after them, and were careful for them, as for their brethren, and the members of the same body.

You have heard what numbers of late have been persecuted, and put to death, among us. Wherefore? Because they turned from idols to serve God, as he hath commanded, and put their trust in him. You have heard how patiently and meekly they went to their death, and what a plentiful harvest God hath raised of their blood. For the death of his saints is precious in the sight of the Lord. Their blood cannot be spent in vain. We must remember their patience and zeal, and the cause why they suffered. We must not despise, or set light by the gospel of Jesus Christ, for which they so joyfully gave their lives.

And it is not enough that we are mindful of such examples as we have had at home. We must also carefully consider of other churches abroad. God hath kindled a fire, he will have it burn. Oh! what torments do our brethren daily suffer! What cruelty is devised daily against them! I speak not of death only, but of rackings, and wonderful extremities more painful than death. Wherefore are these things done unto them? Because they are turned to the true and living God, and believe in the name of Jesus Christ. Some they hang by the hands, and draw up with a pulley, and bind great weights of lead at their heels, to rend them, and tear their bodies asunder. Some they have tied to great pieces of timber, and have put fire at the soles of their feet. They have opened their mouths, and made them draw in lawn into their body, a thing most cruel, and yet which they have practised; the manner whereof hath been thus reported: They lay it so far in the mouth that a man's breath easily draweth it into his body, and so it is conveyed into the stomach. When it is well settled then comes the tormentor, and takes the lawn by the other end, and rashes it suddenly, with such a force, as it seems he doth pluck out the very heart and entrails. Such a rare and strange kind of cruelty, as is not practised upon most notorious rebels and traitors. As for death, forty or fifty at one time

have been heaped together, and burnt in one fire. They have set upon the servants of God, and compassed the church where they have assembled together to pray unto God, and murdered them in their innocency, while they lifted up pure hands unto God. The French king, by the counsel of such as hate the gospel of Christ, sent his cruel soldiers, and murdered his subjects at Valois.* He overthrew their houses, burnt their towns, destroyed man, woman, and child; spoiled their corn, and rooted up their trees. He wasted, defaced, and unpeopled it, not for that they were thieves or rebels, but because they believed in the name of Christ. Consider how many have been murdered in Flanders, and in the kingdom of France. They are not so far from us, as Judea from Thessalonica. They join next unto us. God is blessed in his saints, and holy in all his works, no cruelty is able to quench his truth. There is no counsel, which shall prevail against the Lord. He giveth increase, and placeth children instead of their fathers. The more are slain by the enemies, the more spring up, by the working of his Spirit. The more are hewn down, the more multiply. We may not be strangers in this case. It behoves us to consider the afflictions of our brethren. They belong unto us. We must pray to God for them, that he will put an end to their miseries; otherwise, we have not the Spirit of God, we bear no love nor care for his house.

Of your countrymen. This was the greatest and heaviest part of their troubles. For what a heart's grief is it to the Father, if his son rise up against him! or to the son, to see his father ready to betray him, and to seek his blood! Where this is done, he will say, O father, I am thy son; alas! what have I done to have thy displeasure? death is bitter, but thy displeasure is more bitter than death. It were a cruel thing that any man should kill another; what is it then, if thou shouldest kill thine own child? Yet if thou art so bent, take my life and spare my conscience; spare my soul, that I may deliver it up into His hands who hath given it me; I would be obedient unto thee, thou art my father, but I may not disobey God. He is the Father of fathers. He hath said, Matt. x. He that loveth father

* The Waldenses, had suffered severe persecutions a few years before this was written, and horrid cruelties were at that time perpetrated by the Spanish government upon the Protestants in Flanders. The massacre of St. Bartholomew took place about the same period. The cruel torments mentioned in the preceding page were commonly inflicted by the Inquisition.

or mother more than me, he is not worthy of me. It is a miserable case when persecution groweth so hot that the child is driven to forsake his father, or the father his child; yet so doth the world blind many, and Satan so possesses their hearts, that he turns their love into hatred, and shuts up their senses, and chokes and dams up the springs of nature. They become so blind and so insensible, that they neither feel their own flesh, nor know their own blood. They think, in so doing, they do God good service! They are enemies to the truth. They are the enemies of the cross of Christ, their end is destruction.

And forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved. This is the end whereunto the gospel is given, that the people should be saved. St. Paul saith, I Tim. ii. God willeth that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. Therefore our Saviour appointed his apostles to this office of preaching his word, saying, Go and preach the gospel unto all nations. Go unto the lost sheep of Israel. He saith, It is not the will of my Father, that one of these little ones should perish. Whosoever believeth and shall be baptized, shall be saved. St. James exhorteth the faithful; Receive with meekness the word that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls. By it we hear the sweet voice of our Saviour; Come unto me all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and I will refresh you, Matt. xi. By it we hear the merciful calling of God; Turn unto me, and ye shall be saved. By it we are warned to depart from the company of such as are enemies to the truth, and to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness; Save yourselves, saith St. Peter, Acts ii. from this froward generation. By it we are taught to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, that his name is Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins, and that there is not salvation in any other besides him. For faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. This is, therefore, the duty of the preacher, to preach unto the people, that so they may be saved; that they may know the ways of God; that they may repent them of their sins, and be renewed unto godliness.

Who would think there were any that would hinder the course of the gospel, or forbid to preach it unto the people? The apostle here lays that fault to the Jews, that they forbid him to preach to the Gentiles. The same fault Christ

found in the scribes and pharisees; Wo be to you, interpreters of the law, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbad.

Such there have been always, and such there are now. Oh! say they, why should the people know these things? What should they meddle with the Scriptures? let them do their business, and apply to their occupations. It is not reason nor fit that every one should be learned; when they think they know somewhat, they become proud, and devise heresies and maintain them. As if God had not left them to instruct the people, or as if the Holy Scriptures, and not the malice of Satan, were the cause of heresies.

But God hath said, Deut. xxxi. Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn and fear the Lord your God, and keep and observe all the words of this law. The prophet David thought it meet the people should know the Scriptures; therefore he said, Blessed is that man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night. And again, Wherewith shall a young man redress his ways? In keeping thy words.

When Christ himself came first into the world to plant his church, he vouchsafed to the poor and simple the knowledge of his truth, and showed it first unto them. The first that had tidings of his birth were not scribes and pharisees, but a company of poor shepherds. The first that received his gospel, and taught it in the world, were not doctors or learned men, but fishers, and toll-gatherers, and of base condition. The first that met him with triumph at Jerusalem, and sang Hosanna, were not bishops and priests, but babes and infants. They that followed him most and believed, were not the greatest men of power and policy, but such as the pharisees termed a cursed people, which knew not the law. The first that told the apostles the resurrection of Christ, were not the sagest and wisest men, but two or three simple women.

The first that were converted to the faith after his resurrection, were not any of the great, learned, or otherwise esteemed and known among the people, but about three thousand poor, simple men, so base, and so out of knowledge, that not one of their names could ever be known.

Why should any man resist the wisdom of God; and

deny the people the bread whereon they should feed, the light by which they may safely walk, the hearing and reading of the word, by which they may be turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God? They have cruel hearts, and are enemies to the glory of God, and to the salvation of his people, who deny them the knowledge of the Scriptures.

To fulfil their sins always. They have refused the word of reconciliation; they are not contented that they have stoned the prophets, and killed them that were sent to them; but they yet resist the holy gospel, and devise means to keep all others from the comfort thereof. This is a token of God's heavy displeasure upon them, that they repent not of their former evils, but grow worse and worse.

When the scribes and pharisees seemed to mislike the cruelty of their fathers, and said, if they had been in their days, they would not have been partners with them in the blood of the prophets; our Saviour made their hypocrisy known—that herein they should be like to their fathers, for they should kill and crucify the prophets and wise men, and scourge them in their synagogues, and persecute from city to city, and said to them, Matt. xxiii. Fulfil ye also the measure of your fathers.

The cause of this judgment of God, in giving over the wicked to increase the heap of their sins, the apostle setteth down to the Romans, chap. i. As they regarded them not to know God, God delivered them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient. For so he sometimes punishes our sins, and suffers the wicked to heap sin upon sin, that so their damnation may be the greater.

For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost. Though God be patient and long-suffering, because he would have all men come to repentance, yet in whom his mercy takes no place to work their amendment, upon them he pours out his wrath and indignation to the utmost. He means not, that all the whole nation of the Jews were so cast out of the favour of God, that never any of them shall be saved; for in another place he saith, Rom. xi. Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I myself am an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not cast away his people which he knew before.

But miserable shall be their end, and a terrible damnation shall they have, whosoever withstand the truth of God,

and to the rest of their wickedness join such a hatred and despiteful contempt of the poor and simple sort of the people, that they keep from them the wholesome words of doctrine, and forbid such as are willing, to preach unto them. This is their condemnation; that light came into the world, and they loved darkness better than light. They persecute us, saith St. Paul, and forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved; to fulfil their sins always; for the wrath of God is come upon them to the utmost.

Verse 17. *Forasmuch, brethren, as we were kept from you for a season, concerning sight, but not in heart, we enforced the more to see your face with great desire.*

18. *Therefore we would have come unto you, I, Paul, at least once or twice, but Satan hindered us.*

He told them before, how dearly and tenderly he loved them, exhorting, comforting, and beseeching every one of them, as a father his children. He taketh care, lest by any means they should doubt of his great good will towards them; and therefore both witnesses the same, and shows them through what cause he hath staid from them; such a zeal and care had he over the people.

Oh! in what case, then, are they that are careless, and make no regard of the people of God! who hunt after many livings, and bend not themselves to do good; who serve their own bellies, and seek to be rich, and eat up the people of God as if they were bread; they cannot say they have a desire to see the face of their flock, and that their heart is with them.

Howsoever they find time for other matters, they can never take time to know their sheep, and to do the work of their ministry among them. They care not for them, they think not of them, they plant not, they water not, they watch not, they give no warning of the dangers at hand, they teach them not to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and righteously, and godlily, in this present world.

It were happy if all such were removed out of the church of God. They destroy the souls of many, and lead them to destruction by their negligence. What account shall they give unto God, for the souls of their brethren? Where shall they stand, or what shall they say, when he shall bid them make a strait account of their stewardship?

This is the practice of Satan. He uses all means to

ensnare us, and to withdraw us from that blessed hope. Sometimes he hinders the increase of the gospel, by raising up tumults, and disquieting the church of God, and stirring the hearts of such as are in authority, to persecute by all means the teachers of the gospel of Christ.

Again; when God giveth peace and quietness to his church, Satan leads the overseers of the people to forgetfulness of their duty, to seek the pleasures and delights of this life, and to have no regard to the work of the Lord. Such occasions the devil seeks, to hinder our salvation, and to withstand the truth and glory of God.

Verse 19. *For what is our hope or joy or crown of rejoicing? Are not even you it, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?*

20. *Yea, ye are our glory and joy.*

The greatest comfort to him that laboureth, is, to see that his labour comes to good effect, and works that which he purposed. The apostle has before approved his diligence, and showed the mercy of God in making his word fruitful, by opening their hearts, that it might sink into them, and take root in them; therefore now he exhorts them to continue steadfast, that so he may present them unto God, and be partaker with them of everlasting glory.

This ought to be the care of all such as are ministers. They should seek above all things to bring the people to such perfection of understanding, and to such godliness of life, that they may rejoice in their behalf and so cheerfully wait for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III.

Verse 1. *Wherefore, since we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to remain at Athens alone;*

2. *And have sent Timotheus our brother, and minister of God, and our labour-fellow in the gospel of Christ to establish you, and to comfort you, touching your faith.*

I know your faith in Christ Jesus is many ways assaulted. The envious man will take all occasions to sow darnel among the Lord's corn. He will seek to take away the good seed that is sown in your hearts. You are dear unto me. Your wounds are my wounds, and your grief my

grief. Therefore, since I myself am hindered, that I cannot come unto you, to be with you in your afflictions, I send unto you my fellow-labourer in the gospel. I have but one with me, whom I love tenderly, and trust him as mine own soul—him I send unto you.

I leave myself destitute, and without a companion among the infidels, here at Athens, in a city much given to idolatry and which cannot abide the name of Christ. Thus have I burdened myself to relieve you, and taken from myself to comfort you. I have been careless of myself and careful for you, and for the church of God which is among you.

The apostle had sent Timothy to other places, to the Corinthians and to the Philippians. He always found him constant in faith, and zealous to do good unto the saints; and now commends him to this congregation, and calls him "brother, a minister of God, and his labour-fellow;" that so they might conceive his great care for them, who sent so worthy a man unto them; and also that they would esteem him, and have him in reputation, to hearken unto Timothy, and to do in all things as he should direct them.

Such as St. Paul names Timothy, they should all be, who are sent unto the people. They must hold the faith of Christ unfeignedly, and profess it boldly; they must be called and allowed of God to his service; and must not be idle, but painful, and labouring to build up the house of God, and to gather in his harvest; that they may truly be called the ministers of God and labourers in the gospel.

They that are called to this service, must not think it enough, that they serve God, as men of other trades do; for princes, and all sorts of people, owe service and homage unto God, to serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. This service of godly conversation and obedience, ministers must also most carefully perform. But the especial service which belongs to their calling, is to carry the ark of the covenant before their people; to do their message truly when they are sent; to teach, to instruct, to exhort, to comfort, to rebuke in season and out of season; to plant, to weed, to graff, to shrid,* to hold up their hands and to pray for the people: to do this service for kings, for subjects, for rich, for poor, for the wise, for the simple, for the godly, and for the wicked; to establish them, and comfort them touching their faith.

Paul often calls himself the servant of God and the

* To lop.

servant of our Lord Jesus Christ. He rejoices in this service, and reckons it in part of his glory. If we consider the pains and travails which he took, we shall know what diligence all others that are called to the same service ought to show. Thus he writes of himself, Rom. i. I am debtor both to the Grecians and to the barbarians, both to the wise men and the unwise. Therefore, as much as lieth in me, I am ready to preach the gospel to you also that are at Rome. Again, 1 Cor. ix. Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all men, that I might win the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I may win the Jews; to them that are under the law, as though I were under the law, that I may win them that are under the law. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. Again, 2 Cor. iv. We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. Again, 1 Cor. iv. We are reviled, and yet we bless; we are persecuted, and yet suffer it. I serve not myself, saith he, but God; I serve not to seek mine own affections, but to set forth his glory.

Thus in his own example he teaches us, that in the service of the church of God we must endure all pains, and not refuse to follow our calling for any reproach, or shame, or villainy, which may be wrought against us by men.

Verse 3. *That no man should be moved with these afflictions; for ye yourselves know, that we are appointed thereunto.*

Think not that you shall enjoy the pleasures of this world, if you are the faithful servants of Christ. Christ shed his blood for thee, that thou shouldest not refuse to give thy blood for him. Drink the cup of bitter gall, whereof Christ began to thee, and carry thy cross, that thou mayest follow him. If thou be ashamed of the cross, thou art ashamed of Christ; if thou be ashamed of Christ, he will be ashamed of thee before his Father in heaven. The cross cannot hurt thee, for Christ hath sanctified it in his blood.

Behold not the sword which striketh thee, but think on the crown of glory, which thou shalt receive. Gold is clearer after it hath been put into the fire—be thou gold, and the fiery persecution shall not hurt thee. Let not the fear of death put out thy faith. Trust in the Lord; be

strong, and he shall establish thy heart. Be rooted and built in Christ, and established in the faith. Then shall thy heart rejoice, and no man shall take thy joy from thee.

Verse 4. *For verily, when we were with you, we told you before, that we should suffer tribulations, even as it came to pass, and ye knew it.*

My son, if thou wilt come into the service of God, stand fast in righteousness and fear, and prepare thy soul to temptation, Ecclesiasticus ii. God giveth us warning to be ready to suffer afflictions for his name, Proverbs iii. My son, refuse not the chastening of the Lord, neither be grieved with his correction. For the Lord correcteth him whom he loveth; even as the father the child in whom he delighteth. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten, saith Christ, Rev. iii. therefore the apostle tells the Hebrews, (xii.) If you be without correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons. In the tenth of Matthew, our Saviour warns his disciples hereof: Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves.

Thus God schooleth and nurtureth his people, that so, through many tribulations, they may enter into their rest. Frankincense, when it is put in the fire, gives the greater perfume; spice, if it be pounded, smells the sweeter; the earth, when it is torn up with the plough, becomes more fruitful; the seed in the ground, after frost, and snow, and winter storms, springs the ranker; the nigher the vine is pruned to the stock the greater grapes it yields; the grape, when it is most pressed and beaten, makes the sweetest wine; fine gold is the better when it is cast into the fire; rough stones with hewing are squared, and made fit for building; cloth is rent and cut that it may be made a garment; linen is bucked, and washed, and wrung, and beaten, and is the fairer.

These are familiar examples to show the benefit and advantage which the children of God receive by persecution. By it God washeth and scoureth his congregation. We rejoice, saith St. Paul, Rom. v. in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed. The power of God is made perfect in weakness; and all things turn unto good to them that fear the Lord.

Verse 5. *Even for this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent him, that I might know of your faith, lest*

the tempter had tempted you in any sort, and that our labour had been in vain.

6. *But now lately, when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us, always desiring to see us, as we also do you;*
7. *Therefore, brethren, we had consolation in you, in all our affliction and necessity through your faith.*
8. *For now are we alive, if ye stand fast in the Lord.*
9. *For what thanks can we recompense to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we rejoice for your sakes before our God.*
10. *Night and day, praying exceedingly, that we might see your face, and might accomplish that which is lacking in your faith.*

The apostle continues in declaring his earnest affection towards them, and how greatly he rejoiced to hear of their constancy in the faith, and of their love and agreement together; for he feared it might have happened to them as it had done to others. He preached to the Galatians, but they gave ear to false apostles, and went back from that he had taught them. I am in fear of you, saith he, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain. And, Ye did run well; who did hinder you, that you did not obey the truth? It is not of the persuasion of Him that calleth you. The devil hath bewitched you and beguiled your eyes.

Such is the subtlety and the power of Satan in the children of disobedience; Judas was an apostle equal with Peter and the other apostles; the devil entered into his heart and bewitched him, and then he became the child of destruction. Julian the apostate was a Christian, and a reader in the church; but became an enemy of Christ; and when he was stricken in the field, by a miracle from heaven, he threw up his blood in defiance of Christ; so had the devil bewitched him, and changed his heart to wickedness.

It might have been that their weakness in like sort should have been overcome, when the tempter tempted them. And so the gold which he had left with them might have been turned into dross, and the light into darkness, and the kingdom of God taken away from them. For then had his labour been in vain, and they had received the word to their own damnation. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they had

known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them.

The devil is the tempter. His strength and practice is not always by force of arms, but by subtle persuasions and other slights. He reasoned with Eve, why she would not taste of the fruit, which was sweet, pleasant, and delicate, and told the poor woman God did nothing but mock her; for God knew that what day they should eat thereof their eyes should be opened, and they should know as much as God. He came to Christ, and said, Command that these stones be made bread; and cast thyself down, if thou be the Son of God; then thou shalt be worshipped, and taken for a great prophet.

He tempted David after this sort; Why wilt thou serve God? He hath advanced thine enemies, and hath forsaken thee, and left thee in misery. I fretted, saith David, Psal. lxxiii. at the foolish; these are the wicked, yet prosper they alway and increase in riches. Certainly I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency, for daily have I been punished, and chastened every morning. Mine heart was vexed; so foolish was I and ignorant, I was a beast before thee. He tempted Job, the faithful servant of God, and told him, that he was righteous, and holy, and gave alms, in vain; that God had no regard for his prayers, and would not hear them.

This tempter waiteth all occasions to draw us from our faith and steadfastness in the Lord. Yet is he never so busy as when any persecution is raised against the truth. Then is he in his ruff;* then he plays his part, and leaves nothing undone whereby he may move us to forsake the truth.

Wilt thou, saith he, be so foolish as to lose thy life, and knowest not wherefore? Art thou wiser than thy forefathers? Why shouldest thou not be contented to do as thy father, and mother, and friends, and kinsfolks? Thinkest thou they had not as good care of their souls as thou hast of thine? Wilt thou make them pagans and infidels? Dost thou think they are damned?

Be wise, and cast not thyself away. Flesh is frail, life is sweet, death is dreadful; but to die in the fire, to be burned alive, to see thy arms and thy legs quite burned from thy body, and that yet thou canst not die—this is most terrible, thou canst never abide it. Behold so many kings and princes, noblemen, cardinals, bishops, doctors, and learned

* In his best garb, and best pleased.

men, and whole kingdoms and countries, of the contrary opinion. Be not wilful, think not thyself wiser than all the world. What were it for thee to come to the church, and to show thyself obedient, and to do as others do? It is a small matter to look up, and hold up thy hands at the sacring.* If it be an offence, thou shalt be excused, because thou art forced to do it by authority. God is merciful, he will forgive thee.

Thus and thus doth Satan tempt us, and sift us, to lead us from our steadfastness. These devices he practised of late days before our eyes with many constant professors of the Christian religion; but, through the mighty power of God, they quenched all his fiery darts, and through many tribulations entered into glory.

Thanks be to God, who maketh us able, through his grace, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. He is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but will even give the issue with the temptation, that we may be able to bear it. He hath bidden us call upon him in the day of trouble, and he will deliver us. Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in him, saith the prophet, Psal. xxxvii. and he shall bring it to pass. I have set the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand, therefore I shall not slide. And again, The Lord is with me, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. It is better to trust in the Lord, than to have confidence in princes, Psal. xvi. cxviii.

When our Saviour foretold his disciples of the troubles to come, he also comforted them of the strength and the help which they shall receive of God, saying, When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say, Matt. x. He tells them by whom they shall be persecuted; Ye shall be betrayed also of your parents, and of your brethren, and kinsmen, and friends, Luke xxi. And in what sort: They shall lay hands on you, and persecute you, and deliver you to the synagogues, and into prisons, and bring you before kings and rulers. And for what cause: For my name's sake. Then what must the godly in this case do? Fear them not: he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Last of all, he promises to be with them, and to strengthen them: This shall turn to you for a testimonial: lay it up, therefore, in your hearts, that you

* The consecration of the host.

premeditate not what you shall answer; for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, whereagainst all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist.

Thus were the things spoken of long before, which we have seen lately done. Whosoever will set down the story thereof, now they are passed, must needs declare it in the manner as it was forespoken. Their own kinsfolks and friends betrayed many, and brought them to the bishops, who delivered them into prisons, for the name of Christ, and for the love of his truth. The blessed witnesses or martyrs of God feared not, but endured.

Many were simple, young men, young maidens, men and women of great age, labouring men, and men of occupations. Yet God gave them such a mouth and such wisdom, as all their adversaries were not able to speak against it, nor resist it. Whoso reads that Scripture diligently, and considers this story of our time advisedly, cannot but confess that the light of God's gospel is come among us, and that we are they upon whom the latter end of the world is come, and in whom he doth show forth the great might of his power.

Therefore such temptations as Satan uses cannot make the man of God fall from his anchor-hold; his hope is safely laid up in his breast; he knows in whom he putteth his trust, and therefore he saith, I presume from his knowledge, I esteem not to know any thing, save Christ Jesus, and him crucified; I believe not in my fathers; I reverence them, and love them, but I believe only in God; I fear not the sword, I fear not what man can do unto me, but I fear Him that can kill my body and soul.

It is better for me to abide the fire, and lose my life, that I may live for ever, than to deny God for the safeguard of my life, and be cast into hell-fire. If there be so many partakers of their errors, and so few that cleave to the truth, the multitude of them shall not save me; and it is no trial of God's truth, whether it be received of many or of few. Cardinals, and bishops, and doctors, may be wise and learned; so were Annas and Caiaphas, the high-priests, and the scribes and pharisees, who put to death the Lord of glory.

I dare not do ill, because other men do it. I may not tempt God. My conscience is truly assured by God's word what is idolatry, and the dishonour of God. If I should come into the church, and make such shows as you advise me, and be partakers with idolaters, I should do hurt to

others in mine ill example; I should do against mine own conscience, which would be a heavy witness against me, both whilst I live in this world, and in the dreadful day of judgment.

Verse 11. *Now God himself, even our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, guide our journey unto you.*
12. *And the Lord increase you, and make you abound in love one towards another, and towards all men, even as we do towards you;*
13. *To make your hearts stable, and unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with his saints.*

I have planted you; you are my children, whom I have begotten in Christ; I love you; and have care over you; I have an exceeding desire to see your face: but Satan hath withstood my purpose, and found means to keep me from you; I commit my voyage to God, if it please him that I may come unto you, to rejoice with you, and comfort you.

He knoweth what is good for me, and what is profitable for you; the cause is his own; he will do all things to his glory; he will tread Satan under our feet. We cannot purpose and dispose of ourselves. I know that the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps, Jer. x.

The Lord increase you in all godliness, that you may abound more and more, even as you have heard of us how you ought to walk. You are but a little flock; God increase your number, and make all those partakers of his kingdom with you, who hear of your faith and conversation in Christ.

To make your hearts stable and unblameable. That nothing move you or trouble you; that your hearts and consciences be quiet; that you may stand upright, and show yourselves in great confidence before his judgment-seat; that when you shall see God's hand stretched out, and his plagues prepared against the wicked, you be not afraid.

This is the haven of rest, whereto no man cometh, but he that hath a quiet conscience; this is the tabernacle of the Highest, wherein they shall dwell; this is the holy mountain wherein they shall rest that walk uprightly, and work righteousness, and speak the truth in their heart.

Here let us consider the rages and tempests of a troubled

mind, and of an unquiet conscience, which knows that God is an avenger of all wickedness, and that death is the due reward of sin; which acknowledges himself to be a sinner, and finds no way how he shall escape hell-fire.

This man, when he thinks with himself of these things, he cannot but be amazed and disquieted above measure. The sound of the trumpet is ever in his ears; he heareth the voice of the Judge, saying, Stand forth, sinner; now declare how thou hast used thy body, give a reckoning of thy whole life; then his conscience begins to quake and tremble. Then he needs no witness to accuse him, nor judge to condemn him; he is both witness and judge against himself.

The danger hereof may somewhat appear in those who are taken and imprisoned, and arraigned before a judge. When he knows himself guilty, hears the evidence proved against him, sees the judge severe to deal justice without mercy, and therefore is assured of death; what grief and torment he feels at heart! what would he not give, what would he not do, to escape the danger!

But the danger whereunto God judges us is greater, and the manner of his judgment is straiter. Here the judge may be deceived, he is but a man; but there God is the Judge, who is the Searcher of the heart and reins, and no man shall be hid from his heat. Here nothing can be done without evidence, without witnesses and proof—before God, he that hath offended shall accuse himself. This is the case of conscience; itself is witness, itself calleth for judgment to condemnation.

His conscience shall make the sinner say, "I have offended against God; I have despised his word, and would not give ear to learn it; I would not know the time of God's mercy, and of my visitation; I lived in fornication, and committed theft, and kept wrongfully other men's goods; I was disobedient to parents; nurtured not my children in the fear of God; kept not my heart from doing iniquity; I abused my goods, my understanding, my senses, and the good grace of God. I have sinned against heaven, and against God, and am not worthy to be called his son. The wrath of God is worthily fallen upon me; hell-fire is my meed; the mercy of God cannot save me, for my sin is greater than that it can be forgiven. Mine own heart and conscience, heaven and earth, the angels and archangels, God himself, and Christ the Redeemer of them that believe

in him, are against me; I cannot cast mine eyes to any place, but I ever see my damnation before me."

Then he trembles with agony, and stands in fear; his heart dashes and beats as the waves of the sea; he feels uproar, war, lightning, thunder, death, and hell in his heart; he shall fly when no man follows him; he shall say to the hills and rocks, Fall on me, and hide me from the presence of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.

Such is the terror of an unquiet mind. Though all the princes in the world would join themselves to do it, the wicked can never enjoy peace. God keep us far from such agonies, and give us pure hearts and clear consciences.

CHAPTER IV.

Verse 1. *And furthermore we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God.*

2. *For ye know what commandment we gave you by the Lord Jesus.*

We command you not, nor use any force, but entreat you with all patience and meekness, that ye will love your own souls, and think and do those things which please God. You are they to whom the promise was made. God hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; he hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

We come not to you in our own name; we have charge to preach the gospel to all nations; therefore we speak unto you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; we show you the way, that you may walk in it; we declare unto you the will of God, that you may be saved. For, Yet will the Lord wait, that he may have mercy upon you; and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have compassion upon you, saith the prophet, Isa. xxx.

We have opened unto you the whole treasure of God's mercy, we have led you to the throne of grace, and made you see the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; we have preached unto you remission and forgiveness of your sins through his name. If you have heard us and believe, you shall be saved; if any man preach unto

you otherwise than that you have received, let him be accursed.

How ye ought to walk, and please God. It is not enough that ye believe; ye must also walk and live according to knowledge. This is the will of God. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained, that we should walk in them. For the grace of God hath appeared, that bringeth salvation unto all men, and teacheth us that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this life; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Christ, Eph. ii. Titus ii.

In this sort has our teaching been among you; that you might show forth your faith by your works; that it avails you nothing to say you have faith, if you have no works, because the faith that hath no works is dead.

This we are taught by the words of our Lord Jesus: he saith, Matt. vii. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth my Father's will that is in heaven. Again, Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Thus hath our Lord commanded us to be like our Father which is in heaven, to let our light so shine before men, that they may see our good works. Thus the apostle taught; thus the church of God this day teaches; it requires faith as the instrument and means to apply the merits and passion of Jesus Christ for our salvation, and good works as fruits and witnesses of our faith.

Whosoever learneth aright, and believeth the gospel as he ought, groweth, and goeth forward from virtue to virtue. If he were ignorant before, he comes thereby to knowledge; if he were weak, he grows in strength; if he were wicked, he turns unto godliness.

Verse 3. *For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that ye should abstain from fornication:*

4. *That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour.*

God requires true and unfeigned holiness. Wash you, saith the prophet Isaiah, make you clean, take away the evil of your works from before mine eyes, cease to do ill. This is the commandment of God, that so we should be partakers

of his heavenly nature. As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation, saith St. Peter.

Abstain from fornication. Nothing so much hinders true holiness as fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, and such like. Every sin that a man doeth, is without the body; but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body. God is the avenger of such; he will judge the adulterers and fornicators. Be not deceived. Neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons, shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Know to possess his vessel. That is, his body. And the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, as he saith to the Corinthians, 1. vi. And therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, for they are God's. In this body we shall rise out of our grave, and appear before the judgment-seat of God; in this body we shall sit upon the twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes. God shall crown it with glory and honour. Keep this vessel clean, it is precious; keep it in honour, keep it in holiness. Make not the member of Christ a member of the devil. Shame not your bodies, shame not yourselves.

Verse 5. *And not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.*

Give not yourselves over to filthy affections, as the horse and mule which have no understanding, and as the Gentiles which have no fear of God's judgment. Their heart and mind is unclean; they know not God; they know not themselves; they know not the difference of this life, and of the life to come.

Therefore they know not sin; or, if they know it, they refrain from it not, but follow the lusts of their corrupt nature, and give themselves to wantonness, to work all uncleanness, even with greediness.

Thus the apostle sets down what is the fruit of ignorance, and whereto a man groweth, that knoweth not God. That devotion, therefore, which some say is the daughter of ignorance, hath no likeness with true holiness; For this is life eternal, saith Christ, John xvii. that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ.

Verse 6. *That no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter; for the Lord is an avenger of all such things, as we have also told you beforetime and testified.*

Let no man defraud his brother, neither by false weight, nor by false measure, nor by lying words. Let your measures, and weights, and words, be true; let your gains be just and true, that God may bless them. His blessing will make you rich, and whatsoever he blesseth not, shall waste and consume, and do you no good. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you. This is true dealing, and upright.

If thou speak more than is true, if thou take more than thy ware is worth, thy conscience knoweth it is none of thine. God will destroy all the workers of iniquity. He that delighteth in sin hateth his own soul. The mouth that accustometh to lie slayeth the soul.

Defraud not thy brother; he is thy brother, whether he be rich or poor; he is thy brother, and the son of God. Wilt thou do wrong to thy brother? Wilt thou oppress the son of God, and that even in the sight of God? God is his Father, he will not leave it unpunished in thee. If he be simple and unskilful, abuse not his simplicity. God is the God of righteousness. Deal justly, that thine own conscience accuse thee not.

Teach not thy sons nor thy servants to deceive others, and to gain by wickedness; after they have learned of thee to deceive others, they will deceive thee also. Job prayed daily for his children. Be thou also careful that thy children and servants deceive no man, nor hurt any. Their sins shall be laid to thy charge.

Why askest thou of God, that he will feed thee, and give thee thy daily bread, and waitest not upon his will, but feedest upon the bread of iniquity? This meat will not nourish thee; this wealth will not stand by thee; for God will not prosper it. The wise man saith, Prov. xx. The bread of deceit is sweet to a man, but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel.

Ill-gotten goods have an ill end. God hath said by the prophet Haggai, Ye have sown much, but you have brought in little. Ye brought it home, and I did blow upon it. We have examples hereof daily. We have seen great heaps of wealth suddenly blown away, and consumed to nothing; great houses decayed, and the hope of the wicked quite overthrown.

Here will I speak somewhat of the unhappy trade of usury; because therein stands the most miserable and shameful deceiving of the brethren. I will not speak all

that may be said, for it would be too long and over-wearisome. I will have regard of that which shall be agreeable, and profitable, and behoveful for you to hear. And that you may the better consider hereof, and see the whole matter of usury, I will show you first, What usury is. Then, Whence it springeth; and what are the causes of usury. Thirdly, What comes of it; what hurt it works to the commonwealth; and I will lay forth such reasons as may make any good man abhor it. Then I will declare what the holy fathers, and the apostles and martyrs, and Christ, and God himself, have thought and spoken of usury.

Many simple men know not what is usury, nor ever heard of the name of it. The world were happy if no man knew it; for evil things do less harm when they be most unknown. Pestilences or plagues are not known, but with great misery. But that you may learn to know it, and the more to abhor it, this it is.

Usury is a kind of lending of money, or corn, or oil, or wine, or of any other thing, wherein, upon covenant and bargain, we receive again the whole principal which we delivered, and somewhat more, for the use and occupying of the same.*

Whence, then, springeth usury? This is soon showed.

* From the whole tenor of his remarks, it is evident that Jewell speaks against advantage taken unfairly in the use of money or other commodities, to the ruin of those who borrow. Paley, in his Moral and Political Philosophy, observes, "There exists no reason in the law of nature why a man should not be paid for the lending of his money, as well as for the lending of any other property into which the money might be converted. The scruples that have been entertained on this head, and upon the foundation of which, the receiving of interest, or usury, (for they formerly meant the same thing,) was once prohibited in almost all Christian countries, arose from the passage in Deuteronomy xxiii. 19, 20. This prohibition is now generally understood to have been intended for the Jews alone, as part of the civil or political law of that nation, and calculated to preserve among themselves that distribution of property to which many of their institutions were subservient, the year of jubilee and others—regulations which were never thought to be binding upon any but the commonwealth of Israel. This interpretation is confirmed, I think, beyond all controversy by the distinction made in the law between a Jew and a foreigner, 'Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but unto thy brother thou mayest not lend upon usury;' a distinction which could hardly have been admitted into a law, which the divine Author intended to be of moral and universal obligation."

Baxter, in his Christian Politics, (ch. xix.) has examined this subject at considerable length; and fully shows, that such use of money as is not inconsistent with the benefit of others, is lawful.

Even thence, whence theft, murder, adultery, the plagues and destruction of the people do spring. All these are the works of the devil, and the works of the flesh. Christ tells the pharisees, John viii. You are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father you will do. Even so may it truly be said to the usurer, Thou art of thy father the devil, and the lust of thy father thou wilt do, and therefore thou hast pleasure in his works.

The devil entered into the heart of Judas, and put in him this greediness and covetousness of gain, for which he was content to sell his Master. Judas' heart was the shop, the devil was the foreman to work in it. St. Paul saith, 1 Tim. vi. They that will be rich, fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men into perdition and destruction; for the desire of money is the root of evil. And St. John saith, 1 Epis. iii. Whosoever committeth sin is of the devil. Thus we see that the devil is the planter and the father of usury.

Covetousness, desire of money, insatiable greediness, deceitfulness, unmercifulness, injury, oppression, extortion, contempt of God, hatred to the brethren, and hatred of all men, are the nurses and breeders of usury. It springs from Satan, and grows, and is watered and fed, and nourished, by these cruel and damnable monsters.

Let us see further what are the fruits which come of usury. For perhaps it doth some good, and you may think that many are the better for it. These, therefore, are the fruits:— It dissolves the knot and fellowship of mankind; it hardens man's heart; it makes men unnatural, and bereaves them of charity and love to their dearest friends; it breeds misery, and provokes the wrath of God from heaven; it consumes rich men; it eats up the poor; it makes bankrupts, and undoes many households. The poor occupiers are driven to flee, their wives are left alone, their children are helpless, and driven to beg their bread, through the unmerciful dealing of the covetous usurer.

When David sets forth the wickedness of the country where he was persecuted he saith of them, Psal. lv. Usury and deceit departeth not from their streets; one seeketh to spoil and eat up another. These are the commodities and the fruits of usury. Such is usury in the midst of a city; and such good it works, as fire does, when it is set to the roof of a house; or as the plague, when it is taken to the midst of the body, and touches the heart.

We have heard whence usury springs, and what hurt it doth; which whosoever considers, may find cause enough to loath it and forsake it. One asked of Cato, "What it was to commit usury?" "What is it," said he again, "to kill a man? He that is an usurer, is a murderer." The same Cato saith, "Our fathers punished a thief with payment of the double of that he had taken; but the usurer was always condemned to pay four times the value." They were wise men; they thought that an usurer was much worse than a thief. For a thief is driven by extremity and need; the usurer is rich, and hath no need; the thief stealeth in corners, and in places where he may be unknown; the usurer, openly and boldly at all times, and in any place: the thief, to relieve his wife and children; the usurer to spoil his neighbour, and to undo his wife and children: the thief stealeth from the rich, who have enough; the usurer from the poor, that hath nothing: the thief fleeth, and will be seen no more; the usurer standeth by it, continueth and stealeth still; day and night, sleeping and waking, he always stealeth: the thief repents of his deed, he knows he has done wrong, and is sorry for it; the usurer thinks it is his own, that it is well gotten, and never repents nor sorrows, but defends and maintains his sin impudently: the thief, if he escape, many times becomes profitable to his country, and bestows himself painfully in some trade of life; the usurer leaves his merchandise, forsakes his husbandry, gives himself to nothing whereby his country may have benefit: the thief is satisfied at length; the usurer never has enough.

The belly of the wicked will never be filled. As the sea is never filled with water, though all the streams in the world run into it; so the greediness of an usurer is never satisfied, though he gain ever so unreasonably. The sea is profitable; the usurer is hurtful and dangerous. By the sea we may pass and come safely to the haven; but no man passes by usury without loss or shipwreck.*

* Jewell extends his remarks on usury to a considerable length, and in terms of the utmost severity. It may be observed, that the sums extorted for the interest or use of money at that period, in general, were very considerable, and such as to render it almost impossible for the borrower to escape from ruin; sometimes, even five in the hundred, for a month. The proper distinction here appears to be, that we do not oppress our brethren; and Jewell's remarks speak of the usurer as one who does so. If money be lent on such terms that a man may not only pay the interest and repay the principal, but also gain a livelihood to himself, which perhaps he would not

The learned old fathers have taught us, it is no more lawful to take usury of our brother, than it is to kill our brother. They that are of God hear this, and consider it, and have a care that they displease him not. But the wicked that are no whit moved, and care not what God saith, but cast his word behind them; which have eyes and see not, and ears, yet hear not; because they are filthy, they shall be filthy still. Their greedy desire shall increase to their confusion; and as their money increases, so shall they increase the heaps of their sins. Pardon me if I have been long or vehement—of those that are usurers I ask no pardon.

Tell me, thou wretched wight of the world, thou unkind creature, which art past all sense and feeling of God, which knowest the will of God, and doest the contrary, how darest thou come unto the church? It is the church of that God which hath said, Thou shalt take no usury; and thou knowest he hath so said. How darest thou read or hear the word of God? It is the word of that God who condemneth usury; and thou knowest he doth condemn it. How darest thou come into the company of thy brethren?

Usury is the plague, and destruction, and undoing of thy brethren; and this thou knowest. How darest thou look upon thy children? Thou makest the wrath of God fall down from heaven upon them; thy iniquity shall be punished in them to the third and fourth generation; this thou knowest. How darest thou look up to heaven? Thou hast no dwelling there; thou shalt have no place in the tabernacle of the Highest; this thou knowest. Because thou robbest the poor, deceivest the simple, and eatest up the widows' houses, therefore shall thy children be naked, and beg their bread, therefore shalt thou and thy riches perish together.

But Christ saith, John v. The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live. Zaccheus was a receiver of tribute, and was rich when he received Jesus to abide in his house. He stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Behold,

otherwise be able to do, the loan of money cannot be an injury to him, but, on the contrary, a benefit. There are, however, too many at the present day to whom Jewell's remarks in their full severity are applicable. The facility of making interest or advantage from the loan of money at the present day, also has a tendency to promote selfishness, and encourages a covetous disposition, and certainly over eagerness for gain is as besetting a sin now as at any former period; perhaps it is far more prevalent than heretofore as a general principle, actuating every rank, and even professors of the gospel.

Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor; and if I have taken from any man by forged cavillation, I restore him fourfold. Then Jesus said unto him, This day salvation is come into this house, forasmuch as he also is become the son of Abraham, Luke xix.

God may make his word work so in the hearts of usurers, that they also may receive Jesus, and forsake usury, and restore fourfold if they have deceived any, and so may also receive salvation. Let us increase in that usury which is to the glory of God. He hath given us knowledge, and many excellent graces; let us put them forth, let us occupy that talent which he hath left us. He will return; the day of his coming is at hand. He will require his talents; we must answer them. Let us restore them with increase, that our service may be allowed, and we be received into his tabernacle.

Verse 7. *For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.*

8. *He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God, who hath given you his Holy Spirit.*

Let every man possess his vessel in holiness and honour, for this is the will of God; hereto are ye called. I am the Lord your God, saith he, Lev. xi. be sanctified therefore, and be holy, for I am holy. So our Saviour said to his disciples, Luke vi. Be merciful, as your Father also is merciful. Unmercifulness, cruelty, uncleanness, fornication, usury, and such like, are not of God. They answer not their calling that commit any manner of sin. If any man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Lord, 2 Tim. ii. It behoves every man, when he is in secret and alone, to bethink himself whereto God hath called him. The magistrate thus: I am called to do justice, to be merciful to the widow, to have pity upon the fatherless; I am the minister of God, for the wealth of them that do well, and to take vengeance on him that doth evil.

The minister and preacher thus: I have charge given me to lead the people of God in the way of righteousness; I am called to do the work of an evangelist, to preach the word in season and out of season, to show the people their offences, and to reprove them with all earnestness, to teach them that they deny all ungodliness, and turn wholly unto

God; for necessity is laid upon me, and wo is me if I preach not the gospel, 1 Cor iv.

The subject must think with himself: I owe obedience to my sovereign, I must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. If I resist, I resist the ordinance of God, and shall receive to myself damnation.

It behoves all men, when they feel themselves led to any evil purpose, to bethink themselves, Alas! what mean I? why should I do it? This is not the will of God; God hath not called me to uncleanness, but unto holiness; God is my God, I am his creature, I must serve him with my heart. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is upon them that do evil.

He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God. Alas! what are we? we are but unprofitable servants, we are the voice of the crier in the wilderness. By us it hath pleased God to make his name known through all the world; we are your brethren, and your servants, for Christ's sake; we are your helpers, by whom you are called to the faith; we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ; we speak unto you in the name of God. If you despise us in doing this service toward you, you despise not us, but you despise God, who hath sent us; and God can in due time avenge your unthankfulness.

Who hath given you his Holy Spirit. You have received the spirit of wisdom and understanding: you know these things are true, you cannot deny them. If you shall now offend, you shall offend against God's Spirit, which is given unto you.

Verse 9. *But as touching brotherly love, you need not that I write unto you, for ye are taught of God to love one another.*

Love is the bond of unity, of perfection, of knowledge, of wisdom and of all godliness. Paul, the more to set forth the sweetness and comfort thereof, calls it "Brotherly love." Brethren are bound to love one another. God and nature, and bringing up, do bind them. Many brethren have endangered themselves to save their brethren. It were a monster in nature, that one brother should kill another. You are all brethren, and have one Father, even God. How then can you hate and trouble your brethren?

Hereto Christ calls us, John xiii. A new commandment give I you, that ye love another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. Hereof the prophet David saith, Psalm cxxxiii. Behold, how good and how comely a thing it is, brethren, to dwell even together. There is peace, there is comfort, there is heaven, there is God himself among them. This is the duty of the children of God, to live together as the parts and members of one body, as brethren, and as the sons of one Father.

Here let us consider one great disorder among us that are Christians. If an action or matter at law grow between man and man, then forthwith is the bond of brotherly love broken, they are no longer friends. If he stand against him in suit of law, he will have no more to do with him, he will not pray with him, nor drink in his company, nor talk together with him. Whensoever he sees him, his heart rises at him, as if he saw his enemy. This should not be so; it is a disorder in Christian behaviour.

Next after the gospel, the law is the greatest comfort that God hath given to the sons of men. It remedies injuries, and gives to every man that which is his. He that goeth to a judge, goeth to him that is the minister of justice, and that sitteth in the room of God to do right; for the seat of justice is the seat of God. If there were no law to be ministered, but every man might do what he would, and reckon all his own, whatsoever he could get or come by, what a life would it be! How should any man be master of that which he hath? Who can imagine what injuries, cruelties, murders, and streams of blood would follow? Thanks be unto God, who in mercy hath given us a law and justice to guide us by.

Let us be content to seek help at this law without wrath or malice; let us come to it, as we would come to our father; let us ask counsel at it, as we would at the mouth of God. As every man thinks it lawful to use his own, or to require his own, so let every man be content to leave that which he holds, when law saith, it is none of his.

The law is no breach of charity, it is the bond and knot to keep men in love. A son may attempt law with his father, yet do it in such duty as becomes a son. A subject may attempt law with his prince, and yet love and reverence his prince as becomes him. Who uses the law otherwise, abuses it. All strife and contention must be laid

aside. Love may avoid wrong, love may require right, love may stand forth and seek defence before a judge.

Love is patient and gentle; it envieth not, it doth not boast itself, it is not puffed up, it disdaineth not, it seeketh not her own things, it is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but it rejoiceth in the truth; it suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth all things. Such is the nature of love, such it is, wheresoever it is, when it seeketh right, when it defendeth itself against challenge of doing wrong.

Verse 10. *Yea, and that thing verily you do unto all the brethren which are throughout all Macedonia; but we beseech you, brethren, that you increase more and more.*

You love the brethren, not only those that are with you, and whom you know; but all, whatsoever they are, and in what place soever, though ye know them not. Some love none but such as are of their sort, and devotion, and sect, and fellowship. If any be of another mind than they are of, they cannot love them. This love is not of God, it is carnal, and proceedeth but from the flesh. Whosoever carries the name of Christ, is our brother; we must love him for Christ's sake. Christian love doth love those that are enemies, and do not love us; it blesses them that speak ill of us, and prays for them that persecute us.

O that the words of Paul might truly be spoken of us, "As touching brotherly love, we need not write unto you." O that God would touch our hearts with his Holy Spirit, that we were all so knit together, and loved one another, as he hath commanded us! Then should we feel that peace which passeth all understanding; then would it appear, how joyful a thing it were for brethren to dwell together in unity; then should we taste of the comfort of the sons of God.

And, alas! what is our life, or what is our profession, without love? what is the sun without light? what is the fire without heat? Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, saith the apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. and have not love, I am as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal. And though I had the gift of prophecy, and knew all secrets and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and had not love, I were nothing.

That you increase more and more. Men of this world seek to increase in their wealth and riches. They never think their store so great, but it may abide to have more laid

to it. Wicked men stand not at a stay, they cease not to do ill, they heap sin upon sin, and draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin with cart-ropes, until they come to the height and extremity of wickedness. Do you increase in every thing that is good. The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power, 1 Cor. iv.

A child that stays at one stature, and never grows bigger, is a monster. The ground that prospers not, and is not fruitful, is cursed. The tree that is barren, and improves not, is cut down. This must all know, men and women, and babes and infants: they must all walk on still in the way of godliness, and increase and go forward therein. Unless we go forward, we slip back. If we wax weary to do the work of God, God will forsake us.

Verse 11. *And that ye study to be quiet, and to meddle with your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you;*

12. *That ye may behave yourselves honestly towards them that are without, and that nothing be lacking unto you.*

Let no man among you be a busybody in other men's matters. Be not eaves-droppers, and hearkening what is said or done in your neighbour's house. Wide ears and long tongues dwell together. They that love to hear all that may be told them, do also love to blab out all they hear.

Study to be quiet, and meddle with your own business. The church of God is as the body of man. In a man's body every part hath its several office; the arm, the leg, the hand, and foot do that whereto they are appointed, and, doing the same, they live together in peace. But if the arm would take in hand to do that which is the duty of the leg, or the foot that which is the part of the hand, it would produce great disorder in the whole body. So if every man in the church of God seek to do that which to him belongs, the church shall flourish, and be in quiet.

But when every man will be busy, and take upon him to look into others; when every private man will govern, and the subject take in hand to rule the prince; all must needs come to wreck and decay. Busy bodies ever find fault with their brethren and neighbours, with the state, the clergy, the commonwealth, the church, the government, and with the prince; they are an unquiet kind of men, ever looking for that they may mislike, and never contented. From these men come privy whisperings, slander, backbitings, mutinies,

conspiracies, treasons, deposing of princes, and utter decay of commonwealths. These are the fruits of curiosity.

And to work with your own hands. God hath ordained that all sorts of men should labour, and eat their bread in the sweat of their brows. And here the apostle not only charges them to work, but that they work with their own hands. Thou that hast hands, and settest them not to work, thou that abusest the grace of God by thy idleness, shalt give an account thereof.

What fills your prisons? What enriches your gallows, but idleness? When your children come to these places and see they must live no longer, whereof complain they, but of idleness? Then they curse the time, and their father and mother, that brought them up in idleness.

Though kings and princes, and counsellors, and preachers, and magistrates, dig not and plough not, nor do any handy work, yet they break not therefore the commandment of God; they break not this rule of the apostle. The head walketh not as the feet, nor travaileth as the hands, yet is it not idle.

There is no labour comparable to the labour of a prince; day and night, sleeping and waking, he is full of cares and full of pains. The nobleman and magistrate, if he regard his country, be careful for the laws, aid the poor, repress tyranny, comfort the weak, punish the wicked, is not idle. The minister, if he apply to his book, be diligent in prayer, exhort, and teach publicly and privately, is not idle. These labours are greater than all the labours of the body.

Verse 13. *I would not, brethren, have you ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.*

14. *For if we believe that Jesus is dead, and is risen; even so, them that sleep with Jesus will God bring with him.*

Herein stands the comfort of Christian religion; were it not for the hope of the second life, the godly in this world were in worse case than the dumb and brute beasts. When Christ appointed his disciples to go and preach, he said, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. They will scourge you; you shall be hated of all men. As the gospel increased in any place, these words were fulfilled; the godly were put to death for the name of Christ; the father did see his son slain before his face, and the son saw his father cruelly tormented. Hence grew great mourning and heaviness.

Oh! said they, he was a reverend sage father; oh! he was a wise young man, learned, zealous, and a great stay in the church; why would God take him before his time? There is not now any one left, whom we may behold, or hear, or follow; we are left comfortless and without hope.

After this sort it is likely the Thessalonians mourned, when they beheld the persecution of the church of God among them. Herein they grew towards mistrust, and to be like the heathen, who had no hope.

St. Paul thought good to reform this error; and, because this abuse grew of ignorance, for that they knew not the happy estate of such as die in the Lord, he saith, I would not have you ignorant what is become of them, and what God hath done for them. He hath tried them as gold, and hath made them worthy for himself; therefore you ought rather to rejoice, there is no cause at all of mourning. When Christ saw his disciples heavy and sad, because of his departure, he said, John xiv. If ye loved me, ye would verily rejoice, because I said, I go to the Father, for my Father is greater than I. I shall sit at the right hand of my Father in glory; then shall every knee bow unto me, and every tongue shall confess my greatness; therefore, if ye loved me, you would rejoice in my behalf. It is ignorance that maketh you heavy, because you know not whither I go. When Joseph was sold into Egypt, good father Jacob thought he was dead, and therefore mourned day and night. Nothing could comfort him. Alas! saith he, that I have lived to see this day! O Joseph, my son, my son Joseph, O that I might give my life to redeem thee! now shall my hoary head go down to the grave in heaviness. But when he heard that Joseph lived, and saw him with his eyes; when he saw that he was a prince, next in place to the king, and had all the country at command, then he knew he had mourned without a cause; then his heart leaped within him, his eyes gushed out with water, he wept for joy. Ignorance, as we see, made him heavy; knowledge of the truth as it was, rejoiced his heart, and made him glad.

There is great error, and darkness, and ignorance in man's life. We rejoice when we have cause to mourn, and mourn many times when we have cause to rejoice. Therefore he saith, I would not have you ignorant; be not deceived; God hath given you eyes to see the right way; God hath given you ears to hear counsel, and a heart to know reason, and to understand and judge; God hath given you the

Scriptures, and by them the knowledge of his will; he hath given you a face to look up to heaven, and the spirit of life hath he poured into you, that you should not by any means be deceived.

That ye sorrow not, as others that have no hope. He doth not forbid natural affection. Our parents and our children are dear unto us. They are our flesh and blood, and the chief and principal part of our body. Any part of our body cannot be cut off, but we shall feel it. The father, if he feel not the death of his son, or the son, if he feel not the death of his father, and have not a deep feeling of it, he is unnatural.

David mourned for Jonathan; the whole land mourned for Josiah. Paul saith, God had mercy upon Epaphroditus, he was sick, very near unto death; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. If God had taken Epaphroditus out of life, no doubt Paul would have sorrowed. What need more examples? Christ mourned for Lazarus, and shed tears for him. Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him! John xi.

We are not, therefore, forbidden to mourn over the dead; but to mourn in such sort as the heathen did, we are forbidden. They, as they did neither believe in God nor in Christ, so had they no hope of the life to come. When a father saw his son dead, he thought he had been dead for ever. He became heavy, changed his garment, delighted in no company, forsook his meat, famished himself, rent his body, cursed his fortune, cried out upon his gods. O my dear son! saith he, how beautiful, how learned, and wise, and virtuous wast thou! Why shouldst thou die so untimely? why have I offered sacrifice, and done service to my gods? they have made me a good recompense! I will trust them no more; I will no more call upon them. Thus they fell into despair, and spake blasphemies.

Therefore saith Paul, You may mourn, as did the holy men of God, but you may not mourn as the unfaithful sorrow for their dead. You are the sons of the holy fathers; fashion not yourselves, therefore, like to the heathens; do not as they did, neither in feasts, nor in marriages, nor in your attire, nor in your mourning, nor in your pastimes; but behave yourselves as becomes the children of the Most High.

But why may not Christians mourn, and continue in heaviness? Because it is no new thing for a man to die,

because he goeth the way of all flesh. Again, they that depart this life are not dead; they are not gone for ever, as the heathen imagined; they are laid down to take rest quietly for a time. The death of a godly man is nothing else but a sleep. So saith our Saviour of Lazarus, John xi. Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; howbeit Jesus spake of his death. So it is said of Stephen, Acts vii. And they stoned Stephen, who called on God, and said, Lord Jesus receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge; and when he had thus spoken, he slept.

Whosoever dieth in peace of conscience, he may say, I will lie down and take my rest. Thus doth the man of God repose himself; for Christ is advantage unto him, both in life and in death. He saith with the apostle, Rom. xiv. Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. He goeth into his grave as into a bed; he forsaketh this life, as if he lay down to sleep. He shall shake off his sleep, rouse himself, and rise again.

As we wake out of sleep, we know not how, so shall we rise again, though we know not how. As we are much refreshed, and our bodies strengthened by sleep, so shall we rise again in much more strength, and our corruption shall put on incorruption, and our mortality immortality. As often then as we go to our beds, let us think of our resurrection from death. Who is sorry to go into his bed? What father laments to see his child lie quietly and take his rest? Why then should he so mourn for his death? wherein God deals mercifully with him and translates him to the glory of the sons of God, where is no death, nor fear, but we shall be made like to the angels of God.

The body rots in the ground, yet God preserves it, that it shall not perish. His spirit shall return to it again, and it shall live. God is able to bring this to pass; he hath promised so to do; he hath done it already, and will do it again, Luke vii. When Christ came near to the gate of the city of Nain, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, who was a widow; and much people of the city was with her; and when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he went and touched the coffin, and they that bare it, stood still; and he said, I say unto thee, young man, arise. And

he that was dead sat up, and began to speak, and he delivered him to his mother.

Lazarus was laid in his grave; he had been four days dead; his body did stink. Yet when Christ cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth! then he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with bands, and his face was bound with a napkin: Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go, John xi. St. Matthew saith, The graves did open themselves, and many bodies of the saints which slept, arose and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. These few stories witness unto us the rising again of our bodies unto life. But what do I speak of the bodies of men? they are the houses of God, the temples of the Holy Ghost; God hath appointed unto them a kingdom.

The word of God is almighty. He shall but speak, and it shall be done. The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall return to life. I am sure, saith Job, that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh; whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me; this is my hope, laid up in my bosom.

St. Paul willed Timothy never to forget this doctrine, Remember that Jesus Christ, made of the seed of David, was raised again from the dead, according to my gospel, 2 Tim. ii. This is the foundation, the beginning, and the ending of religion. If the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because that his Spirit dwelleth in you, Rom. viii.

This is an article of our faith. We believe the resurrection of the body, even of this body, in which we live, and which we carry about with us. All flesh shall see the salvation of our God. This is the hope of Christians, the resurrection of their flesh. Set your affections on things which are above, not on things which are on the earth; for ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God, saith the apostle, Col. iii. When Christ, which is our life, shall appear, then shall ye appear with him in glory. Therefore let not your hearts be dull through unbelief. As God was able to save the bodies of his servants, that they were not hurt in the fire; as he was able to keep Jonah safe in the

whale's belly; so can he preserve our bodies safe in the earth; yea, much better, because the fire naturally consumes, and the fishes' belly destroys those things which they raven, but the earth naturally preserves that which is earthy.

As our God is of power to divide the waters, to make the sea stand like a wall, and give passage to his people; as he can change the course of the heavens, and make the sun go back; as he can draw water out of the hard rocks; so is he of power to raise our dead bodies again unto life. If he made the earth, the water, the air, the heavens, and all creatures in them of nothing, he is much more able to restore again these bodies which have been. We look, saith Paul, Phil. iii. for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, and make it like his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

The prophet Isaiah comforts the people of God in their afflictions, chap. xxvi. Thy dead men shall live, even with my body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Again; The earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain. Therefore saith our Saviour, John vi. This is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. Again he saith, John v. The hour shall come in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice; and they shall come forth that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation. And again, John xi. I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead shall live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.

For if we believe that Jesus is dead and is risen; that he was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification; if we believe that he is ascended up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God his Father, he will also raise up our mortal bodies, and bring us with him. Now Christ is risen from the dead, and was made the first fruits of them that sleep, 1 Cor. xv. He is our head, we are his body; we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. He hath given us his Spirit to dwell in us. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is

not his. Rom. viii. Christ our Head liveth. His body then cannot be dead. Where I am, saith he, John xii. there shall also my servant be. Wherefore, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall live also with him. Rom. vi.

What then shall become of the infidels which have no faith, which have not the Spirit of God? Shall not they rise again? Yes, verily; they shall rise, but not with Christ; they shall not rise with the resurrection of the just. Some shall rise unto life, some unto death; some to salvation, others to damnation; some to glory, others to shame. We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil, 2 Cor. v.

The wicked shall rise up again with their bodies, and their portion shall be with the devil and his angels; they shall come forth of their graves to the resurrection of condemnation; their body and soul shall be cast into hell-fire, their worm shall never die, their fire shall not be quenched. It had been better for them, they had never been born.

Verse 15. *For this say we unto you, by the word of the Lord, that we which live, and are remaining in the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them that sleep.*

16. *For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first.*

This that we declare unto you is not of ourselves; it is the truth of God, it shall stand good, and be found true for ever. God will raise our bodies out of the grave, and restore them from death to life. You may not reason how, or in what order this shall be done, or who shall be the first, or the second, or the third, that shall rise up in the resurrection. Such questions are unfit, and not to be moved; We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, 1 Cor. xv.

At that hour some shall be alive, and some shall be dead; for He shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. We that are remaining in the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them that sleep; neither will their part be better in the resurrection, who shall then be found alive; nor their

part worse, who have been dead many years before. For they which were dead shall as soon be partakers of the glory of the sons of God as the other.

Touching the state of men that shall live in the end of the world, Christ saith, Matt. xxiv. As the days of Noah, so likewise shall the coming of the Son of man be. I doubt not but you remember the history, what dreadful plague of rain and tempest fell, when all the world was drowned and destroyed with water; vice and ungodliness had increased, and all flesh had corrupted his way upon earth. They had no shame, there was no fear of God before their eyes. God's wrath was kindled against them. He sent Noah, a preacher of righteousness, to reform them, to tell them of the destruction at hand, that they might repent and be saved. But they regarded it not; they laughed Noah to scorn, and grew desperate, and continued in sin. Suddenly all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. As they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, building, purchasing, stirring, and travelling; as they were in the midst of their joys, and travails, and pleasures, the rain came upon them, and the flood grew so great, that it destroyed the whole world, except Noah and a few of his company. Their lands, their goods, cities, castles, nor any other their pleasures or wealth, could save them: so shall it be in the coming of Christ.

As it was in the days of Lot, and as it befell to Sodom and Gomorrah; they lived and increased in filthiness; their hearts were blind, and regarded no counsel; their bodies were filthy; their souls, their lives, their houses, and cities, were full of filthiness. The angel of God departed from them, Lot went out from among them, and fire came down from heaven, and consumed them to ashes, and carried them down quick into hell—there was no father to lament his child, no child left to lament his father:—so shall it be at the coming of Christ. He shall come as a thief suddenly, when no man looketh for his coming. He shall come at such a season when men's hearts will be asleep, and think not of him.

St. Peter, 2 Epis. iii. saith, There shall come in the last days mockers, who will walk after their lusts, and say, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation. They scorn the threatenings of God's judgments. When shall the world come to an end? We have winter

and summer, rain, snow, day and night, as before. The sun keepeth his course, the floods run, the trees bear fruit, all things are as they have been. Oh! saith Peter, know this, that God hath made the heaven and earth, and all that is in them; they are his creatures, he doth hold them up, and preserve them by the power of his word. When God shall withdraw his word they shall decay, and have an end.

As for our Lord, he shall come, and not tarry; at his coming heaven shall depart away as a scroll that is rolled, the elements shall melt with heat, and the earth with the works that are therein, shall be burnt up and consumed before his face. Deceive not yourselves with lying words; for when you say, Peace, peace, and all things are safe; then shall sudden destruction come upon you. Then two men shall be in the fields; the one shall be received, and the other refused. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be received, and the other refused, Matt. xxiv. So shall also the coming of the Son of man be.

The number of the faithful that shall remain at his coming shall not be many. So saith Christ, Luke xviii. When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth? St. John, prophesying of that day, saith, Rev. vi. The sun shall be as black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon like blood. The beauty of the church shall be defaced, the light of the gospel shall be put out; then shall few be left of those that shall behold the glory of God. These shall give witness unto the truth.

And albeit they be but few, yet are they enough to condemn the ungodliness of the wicked. We shall not go in crowds, for we shall be but few; we shall then be in the body, and live in this world, and look up, and see these things; yet when the Lord shall come, we shall not prevent them that sleep. Although we live, and they were dead, yet shall they be as ready as we.

Why? *For the Lord himself shall descend with a shout*, &c. Here is laid before us the true manner of the terrible judgment of God. For our better understanding, let us compare heaven with earth, and the judgment of God with the judgment of men. The judges sit on high, accompanied with noblemen and justices, attended on with constables and bailiffs, and the state and presence of the country. The thief is brought forth, pinioned and bound in chains and fetters;* the poor wretch stands in great fear;

* Prisoners now are not tried in irons or fetters.

his conscience accuses him and saith, Thou didst steal, thou art worthy to die. The voice of the judge is as a blast of thunder, the face of the judge terrible to him as hell-fire.

But the innocent that is wrongfully imprisoned, and hath not offended, he sees himself clear, his conscience excuses him, and therefore he rejoices at the coming of the judges. He thought it long before they came. These, saith he, will strike off my shackles, and set me at liberty; their voice unto him is as the voice of life; he beholds them, and they are as the angels of God.

Such shall be the show and sight of the Son of God; he shall come down with majesty from heaven, the trumpet of God shall sound and be heard from the one end of the heaven to the other; and whosoever shall hear it, shall quake for fear. Then shall he be the Judge over all flesh; then he shall show himself to be King of kings, and Lord of lords; then shall he not come in humility, meekness, and mercy, but with dread and terror of judgment and justice. Not with twelve poor apostles, but with twelve thousand angels to attend upon him. Not in the preaching of the gospel, and calling sinners to repentance; but, in the sound of a trumpet, wherewith all the corners of the earth shall be amazed. Then shall he not say, Come unto me all ye that travail, and are laden, and I will refresh you; I am sent to the lost sheep of Israel. He shall not say, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do: but, You have been ashamed of me and of my word before men; therefore now will I be ashamed of you before my heavenly Father.

Then shall they that despise the word of God know what they despised, and the blasphemers shall reap the fruit of their blasphemy. Then the careless shepherd, who hath not fed the Lord's sheep, but neglected them, and left them at all adventures, who hath betrayed his flock, and given them to be a prey unto the wolf, shall receive a just reward for his treason; then the adulterer, oppressor, and usurer, shall have their life laid open before them; then shall every eye see him; they shall see Him whom they pierced through; they shall see his wounds which they did not regard; they shall see his sword ready drawn to slay all his enemies, and shall fall down for fear of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and of the Lamb.

But the hearts of the righteous shall rejoice; they shall lift up their heads, and see Him in whom they have trusted.

Then they shall say, This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice, and be glad in it. Come, let us rejoice unto the Lord; let us come before his face with praise; let us sing loud unto him with psalms. Such shall be the state, and countenance, and honour, and majesty of our God, when he shall come down from heaven for our deliverance.

And the dead in Christ shall rise first. The earth shall open, and yield forth her dead bodies; that so they may be ready, with us that remain, to go before the presence of our Judge. *Which are dead in Christ.* Who are they? They whom he chose out of this world, and who have chosen God for their portion; whom God hath sealed unto the day of redemption, who have said, Christ is to me, both in life and death, advantage. And I live, not I now, but Christ liveth in me. And again, Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's: who say, I have bound myself to serve the Lord all the days of my life.

They are dead in Christ, who commend themselves wholly unto him, and say, O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth. To be short, whosoever liveth in the Lord, he dieth in the Lord. He in whom Christ liveth, who hath a taste and feeling of Christ in his heart; he that rejoiceth in Christ, and looketh for that blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ; he is a sheep of his pasture; he is a member of his body; he is the apple of his eye; he liveth and dieth in Christ. Blessed is he that so liveth and so dieth; for he shall rise with Christ in the resurrection of the righteous, and shall have his part in the land of the living.

Verse 17. *Then shall we which live and remain, be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.*

18. *Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words.*

We which shall see all these things, shall also be caught up ourselves. But here you must note, that Paul speaks not this of his own person, and of them that lived in his time, as if they should continue alive unto the end, or that the world should have an end before they should die; but he shows what shall be the state of such whosoever shall

then remain alive. And again, mark that he saith not, We which live and remain shall die forthwith; or, Our bodies shall be turned into dust, and so our souls alone go to meet the Lord; but, Whether we be standing or sitting, doing well, or ill occupied, "we shall be caught up." For the trumpet shall suddenly blow, and then the dead shall rise, and we shall be changed.

So saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. Behold, I show you a secret thing: we shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, shall they that are dead arise, and we shall be changed. Thus our mortal body shall be changed, and shall put on immortality; this corruptible body shall be changed, and put on incorruption. Christ will change our earthly bodies to the likeness of his glorious heavenly body. Then shall our flesh be pure, and heavenly, and spiritual, and we shall be able to behold the glory of God. Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

To meet the Lord in the air, &c. This is a comfortable end of all troubles and persecutions which the godly suffer in this life; that they be received into the glory of God, and that both their bodies and souls do live with him, and enjoy his presence for ever. Then shall they eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God; they shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. Then shall they feel those joys, which eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man. Such an end shall they have, whosoever fear the Lord.

Comfort yourselves one another with these words. You see the turmoils and troubles of the world, what vexations and afflictions Satan raises up against all those that will live godly. Open and notorious sinners are forborn.* Theft, adultery, usury, extortion, wilful murder, rebellion, treason, are many times pardoned and unpunished; but true religion, which is the turning from idols to serve the true and living God, and faith in Jesus Christ, that by him we shall be delivered from the wrath to come, finds but few friends, and seldom escapes without strange and most cruel torments.

What is this but to crucify the Lord of glory, and to set

* Spared.

Barabbas, a murderer, at liberty? David saith, Psal. ii. The kings of the earth band themselves, and the princes are assembled together against the Lord, and against his Anointed. They seek to spoil the vine of the Lord, and to destroy his little flock; they use all means to put out the light of the gospel. But be you of good cheer; continue you steadfast in the truth, your redemption is even at hand. You shall be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord, and so shall abide with him for ever. Let every neighbour comfort his neighbour, and every father his child; let us all comfort one another with these words.

CHAPTER V.

Verse 1. *But of times and seasons, brethren, you have no need that I write unto you.*

2. *For ye yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall come, as a thief in the night.*

3. *For when they shall say, Peace and safety, then shall come upon them sudden destruction, as the travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape.*

When the disciples came unto Christ apart, and said, Matt. xxiv. Tell us when these things shall be, and what sign shall be of thy coming and of the end of the world? he answered, Take heed lest any man deceive you. It is not for you to know the time, or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. For of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son himself, save the Father. Vex not your spirit in vain. Seek not for that which you may not know; you shall not be able to find it.

Therefore saith Paul, I need not to write of times and seasons in which these things shall be done. Yourselves have been taught the word of God; you have learned what his will is; you know the day of the Lord shall come upon you as a thief. And how cometh a thief? not in the day-time; not when a man hath company about him; not when he is watched; but in the night, in the darkness, when all light is out; when the good man of the house taketh his rest; when the servants are asleep.

Even so, when the light of the truth is taken away, when the heart of the good man of the house is at rest, and his

eyes are darkened, that they cannot see, and all his senses drowned in worldly pleasures; when we care for nothing, and think of nothing; when we say peace and safety; then will the Son of man come to judgment; then shall destruction suddenly fall upon us: therefore let us be ready, for in the hour that we think not, will the Son of man come.

Mark that Paul saith, Ye have no need that I write unto you of times and seasons; and that our Saviour saith, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons. What may we think, then, of them that write books and almanacks; and say, such a year and at such a time, Christ shall come? and with these speeches fray* and mock the world? Paul was the apostle of Christ; an elect vessel of the Holy Ghost. He said, I have no need to write of it; you cannot know it. What need is there now that such books and pamphlets should be written? why should the world be troubled with such vanities?

Spare me your patience, and give me leave a little to deal with these wizards. Tell me thou that dost measure and behold the compass of heaven, and markest the conjunctions, and oppositions, and aspects of the stars; and by that wisdom canst foretell the things that shall be done hereafter; where learnest thou this skill? how comest thou by this deep knowledge? Paul was taken up into the third heaven, and heard words which cannot be spoken; which are not lawful for man to utter: yet he knew not this secret, and might not know it.

What art thou then? Art thou greater than the apostle of Christ? Hast thou been taken up into some place higher than the third heaven? Hast thou heard such words as are not lawful to utter? If it be so, why dost thou utter them? Wilt thou take that upon thee which the holy apostle dared not? Art thou of God's privy council? The angels and archangels know not hereof; and shall we think that thou knowest it? art thou wiser than an angel? Consider thyself; thou art a miserable man; thy breath fadeth as the smoke; thou art nothing but dust and ashes; thou canst not attain to the knowledge hereof.

And what is that which thou boastest?—The knowledge of that terrible day, when all flesh shall appear before the Judge; even of that time, which God hath put in his own power? O vain man, thou knowest not thine own day; thou knowest not when thy soul shall be taken from thee.

* Frighten.

By what helps and means camest thou unto this knowledge? Was it by reading the writings of the apostles? by reading the gospel of Christ, or any part of the word of God? No; thou hast no great skill in this learning: thou hast it from Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, or Haly. What is Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, and Haly. What are they, but heathens, painims,* and infidels? Were they not void of all knowledge of God? Were they not the enemies of the cross of Christ? They never believed in God, how could they then know that day when he would judge the world? Let thy common reason reform thee. Can Saturn and Mars know this, when the angels of God cannot know it?

To what end write they thus. Is it to give a token of their knowledge? Nay, hereby they proclaim and publish their folly and want of knowledge. These two hundred years there ever have been some who have adventured to tell such news, and to say, In this year or that year, you shall have doomsday. Such a day will Christ come to judgment, and the world shall have an end. They have appointed many such years, and days, and hours. The years are gone, the days are past, and the hours are slipt away, but the world abideth, and giveth witness of their folly!

But the meaning of these men is good; some say hereby they move the people to repentance. For when men think the end of the world is at hand, they will bear the less affection to the things of this world. This is not the way to teach repentance, and amendment of life. The people may not be taught by lies and fables. If this had been good for them, God himself would have used it. God grant them grace to repent, who thus presume of knowledge, and reach so high, and yet know nothing.

Let us yet reason further with them. How have they this knowledge? Of certainty, or by conjecture. If of certainty, then it must needs be so, it cannot fail, nothing can hinder it. But you will say it is a conjecture. It may be so, and it is likely; for such a day shall be a conjunction of Saturn and Mars in a fiery house, and therefore all things shall be consumed with fire. Alas! what hath Saturn or Mars to do with the day of the Lord? they are but creatures, they are no gods.

* Pagans; Manilius was a Latin poet who lived in the times of the emperors. His Astronomicon contains a system of ancient astronomy and astrology; he was, however, one of the most discerning philosophers of antiquity. Albumazar was an Arabian astrologer and philosopher of the ninth century.

They are stars made to give us light; why should they lead us into darkness? In the day of the Lord they shall be melted, and perish with fire. Why then trouble they the world with such vanities, and set those things down for truth, whereof they have no certainty, but only a guess and conjecture?

And what time chose they to cast abroad this news? The same in which the gospel, through the mercy of God, is well known of most men. Even now tell they these tales, when all men know that Christ saith, The angels in heaven know not of that day and hour. The angels behold the face of God, and stand in his presence, yet know they not the day of the Lord. This is a secret which God revealeth not unto any.

Children can reprove this folly in them, and say, Seek not to know the secrets of God, nor what manner of thing the heaven is. Know thyself that thou art but a mortal man, crawling on the ground like a worm. He that will stare upon the sun, may be blind, and lose his eyes. God hath given thee knowledge in measure; thou canst not know as much as thou wouldest. Know that which is fit for thee to know, and speak that which is lawful to be spoken. Think of the commandments of God to follow them. Search not into his works, to be curious in them; for he that is curious in searching the majesty of God shall be oppressed and confounded by his glory.

Thus much we may well know, that the Lord will come: that all flesh shall appear before him; that the world, the heaven, the earth, the sun, and the moon shall have an end; that the day of the Lord shall come suddenly, as a thief in the night. This warning God hath given us, that we should not be taken unawares, but that we repent, and stand in readiness, and watch and pray, that we may be caught up into the clouds, to meet our Redeemer.

Verse 4. *But you, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should come on you, as it were a thief.*

5. *Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day; we are not of the night, neither of darkness.*

6. *Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober.*

7. *For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and they that be drunken, are drunken in the night.*

8. *But let us, which are of the day, be sober, putting on*

the breastplate of faith and love, and the hope of salvation for an helmet.

9. *For God hath not appointed us unto wrath, but to obtain salvation, by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ;*
10. *Which died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.*

Your conversation is in heaven, from whence you look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ. Ye were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord; walk as children of light, approving that which is pleasing to the Lord. That day shall be dreadful, and come suddenly upon the wicked; but to you it shall not seem sudden, who fear the Lord, and put your trust in him, and take all care to be in readiness at his coming. Arm yourselves strongly; the enemy seeks to overthrow you. Your enemy is the devil, with all his force. Your strength standeth not in your own prowess or manhood, but in the mighty power of God. Put on, therefore, the breastplate of faith and love. He that believeth shall be saved; he that abideth in love, abideth in God; and whosoever putteth his trust in him shall not be confounded.

Here I may take occasion to say somewhat of the troubles of war; how Satan seeks thereby to disquiet the church of God. Who hath not heard what force is this day raised in this realm? who hath not heard of it? but let it not trouble you; God will turn all to his glory. I love not to speak of such things, yet somewhat I must speak thereof, the time enforces me.

This is the first disturbance and breach of that blessed peace, in which God hath so long and so quietly preserved this realm, since the time that her majesty came to the crown. It gives great occasion to the enemy to break in upon us; it is the spoiling of our country. The barbarous soldiers rush into men's houses, and take out what they list; they draw their sword, bend their force, join themselves to war against the Lord, and against his Anointed. They have torn and defaced, and burnt in fire the Holy Bible, the gospel of our salvation, and would set up the loathsome service of the mass.*

* Jewell here refers to the rebellion raised by the papists in the north in 1569, which was headed by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and was suppressed with difficulty. The rebels entered the churches, and after cutting and tearing to pieces the bibles and books of common prayer, trod them under foot, *Strype, Annals*, ii. 2.

What! hath the word of God offended? why should it be torn in pieces? why should it be burnt? what word is in it, which is not the word of life? It is the power of God unto salvation, to them that believe. And where should the word of God have place, where should it be heard, but in the church of God? Oh cursed hands, that so despitefully rent it! Wo worth that unhappy fire that burnt it!

As for the mass, would God, they that so much desire it, knew what it is! Would God they knew how the people of God are mocked by it; and how the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ is blasphemed by it! would God they knew how grievously God is offended with them in this thing, wherein they think they please him so highly! But the mass and God's word cannot dwell in one house together, the one is so contrary to the other.

God forgive them, and lay it not to their charge, for they know not what they do. They are drawn on to work the things which others have most wickedly devised. There is no doubt but God will confound their enterprise; for this is his own cause; this quarrel is picked against his church, and against the knowledge and setting forth of his gospel, and therefore against the setting forth of his glory.

Only let us lift up pure hands unto heaven, and call for help from above. Let us say unto him, Rise up for our succour, and redeem us for thy mercies' sake. Let us say, They have cast thy sanctuary into the fire, and razed it to the ground, and have destroyed the dwelling-place of thy name. Arise, O God; maintain thine own cause; remember thy daily reproach by the foolish man, Psalm lxxiv.

Let us say, Save, O Lord, queen Elizabeth, thy servant, establish that good thing which thou hast begun; open the eyes of all people, that they may see thy saving health, and enjoy it through hearing thy gospel, which thou hast made known unto us; save thy people who trust in thee, and break the cords of the wicked in sunder.

Let us comfort ourselves with these words, that God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation, by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ. He hath overcome the world. Let us be of good cheer; and let us walk as the children of light; let us walk honestly, as in the day. Then, whether we wake or sleep, whether we live or die, we shall live together with him.

Verse 11. *Wherefore exhort one another, and edify one another, even as ye do.*

This is the bond of true love and Christian friendship, that every man be careful of his brother as of himself; that every man exhort and teach the things that are good, and rebuke others in ill; that every man seek to bring home the lost sheep, and to restore him to his Master. Therefore Christ saith, Matt. xviii. If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his faults, between him and thee alone; if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; for what knowest thou whether thou shalt save thy brother? Brethren, saith St. James, chap. v. if any of you hath erred from the truth, and some man hath converted him, let him know that he which hath converted the sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.

Therefore saith the apostle, *Exhort one another, and edify one another.* Let the father exhort the son: O son, walk uprightly before God; live honestly and virtuously in the sight of all men; do those things that are good; thou art the child of God, be holy in spirit, and holy in body, because he is holy. Say to the adulterer, O brother, be not deceived. Whosoever is an adulterer, hath no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. God hath said of them that are such, They shall not enter into my rest. Say to the swearer, O take not the name of God in vain, for God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. He that sweareth, and nameth God continually, he shall not be faultless. A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with wickedness, and the plague shall never go from his house, nor from his cattle, nor from his corn, nor from his servants, nor from his children, nor from himself. His house shall be full of plagues. Say to the usurer, O hear the voice of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, before whom thou shalt stand to give an account of those things which thou hast done in this life: Thou shalt not give thy money to usury. He that careth not for these words, but doth otherwise, shall not escape unpunished. Say to the rich man, O put not your trust in riches; lay up your treasure in heaven; lay it up in the bosom of the poor, and it shall make intercession for thee. Put thy trust in the living God, who giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy. Thy house, thy land, thy money, thy gold and silver, shall not continue; thou shalt go the way

of all flesh, and thy riches shall not be able to deliver thee in the day of wrath.

Say to the learned man, to the wise man, and to the man whom God hath endued with worldly power, What hast thou that thou hast not received? Be not high-minded; it is the gift of God; it is not thine; thou shalt give a reckoning of all that thou hast received. Abuse it not to the dishonour of God; it is of charity that I speak unto thee; thou art my brother; God hath a care over thee; it is his will that one of us should exhort another. O why should thy life give offence to any man? why should the name of God be ill spoken of through thee? He hath made thee to be a vessel of honour; thou belongest to his fold; why shouldest thou be lost, and perish in thy wilfulness?

Verse 12. *Now we beseech you, brethren, that ye know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you;*

13. *That ye have them in singular love for their works' sake. Be at peace among yourselves.*

They which exhort you, and warn you, and are over you in the Lord, they are shepherds, and husbandmen, and watchmen for you; they feed the Lord's flock, plough the Lord's ground, and watch the tower of the God of hosts. You are God's sheep, ye must be fed, else you cannot live. You are a field, you must be ploughed, else you will be overgrown with brambles, and stand unfruitful, and lie waste. You are the Lord's tower, you must be watched, else the enemy will break in upon you, and so you shall be destroyed. They labour and travail in your behalf; they must give an account for your souls; they are ambassadors sent from God; they come to tell you the truth; they preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus; they speak to you in the name of the Lord.

Although you reckon them fools, unlearned, and simple, they are the messengers of the great King, even of him that is Lord over all. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. i. It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. The heavenly treasure is brought to you in poor, broken, earthy vessels. The vessels are simple, but the treasure is heavenly. The messenger is weak, but his word is the word of life, which can cast down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God.

Whatsoever they seem to you, they are the eyes of the

church, and the mouth of God. Christ saith unto them whom he appointeth to this ministry, John xx. As my Father sendeth me, so send I you. They have the same commission, be they ever so poor. He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me, saith Christ, Luke x.

Some there are, that thus say: O that I might hear Christ, or Peter, or Paul! I would verily believe what they should preach. This is folly, and curious vanity; for whensoever thou dost hear the minister of God break unto thee the word of life, and teach thee the truth of the gospel, thou hearest Paul, and Peter, and Christ himself. If thou despisest the word of God spoken unto thee by him, and the grace which God offereth thee by him, thou despisest Christ himself, and heapest up the heavy displeasure of God against thee.

God will give thee over unto a reprobate mind; thou shalt have eyes, yet shalt not see; thou shalt have ears, yet shalt not hear; thou shalt die in thy sins; it shall be easier for Sodom at that day, than for thee. Therefore acknowledge them, give credit to their message, they watch and take pains for you.

What shall we say of them that labour not? That neither teach, nor exhort, nor reprove, nor correct? that have no care to do their message, and no regard to the people? What may I say of such? God himself saith, Isaiah lvi. They are dumb dogs and cannot bark; they lie and sleep, and delight in sleeping; they all look to their own way, and to their own advantage, and every one for his own purpose. Christ calleth them thieves and robbers; they are unsavoury salt, profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth, and trodden under the feet of men. Woe is unto me, saith Paul, 1 Cor. ix. if I preach not the gospel. Woe to the servant that wrappeth his talent in a napkin, and increaseth not his master's gain. God grant such idle and slothful ministers grace to know their office and to do it. If not, God give the people grace to know them, and shun them, and fly from them.

That ye have them in singular love for their works' sake. He telleth Timothy, 1 Tim. v. The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine. Reverence them, and love them; love them for your own sakes, you have life and comfort by

them; honour them for their office sake; they are your fathers; they have begotten you in Christ; they carry the keys of the kingdom of heaven; they are the stewards of God's house, and the disposers of his mysteries. Honour them, and love them for God's sake. He hath sent them, and hath put his word in their mouth. He hath said to them, Go ye into all the world, preach the gospel unto every nation; go speak to the heart of Jerusalem, that they may feel the weight of thy words, and repent. Love them therefore, for they love you in Christ, and are ready to give their lives for your sake. The Galatians so reverenced and loved St. Paul, that he saith, Gal. iv. Ye received me as an angel of God; for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes, and have given them to me.

Be at peace among yourselves. You are the sons of God. God is the God of peace. Discord, contention, and unquietness, are fit for the children of Satan. Live in godly unity as becomes the children of peace.

Verse 14. *We desire you, brethren, that ye admonish them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, bear with the weak, be patient towards all men.*

15. *See that none recompense evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both towards yourselves, and towards all men.*

There are some which walk among you inordinately; they break the bond of peace; they sow divisions and discord between the brethren; they draw disciples after them, and disquiet the church of God; they command that which hath been forbidden by God, and forbid that which God hath commanded. Warn them that are such; say unto them, as St. Paul did to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xi. We have no such custom, neither hath the church of God. Woe to him by whom offence cometh.

Say unto them, as Joshua said to Achan, Inasmuch as thou hast troubled us, therefore God will trouble thee this day. After this sort admonish them, and lay open their wilfulness and blasphemy before their eyes, that they may see the blindness of their hearts, and in what sort their life is disordered, and so repent, and be saved.

But what greater disorder can there be, than that of theirs, who have this day assembled themselves in force and in armour, who have lifted up their sword against their

sovereign, and disturbed the peace of this realm, and have misled the people, and sought to overthrow the Church of God.* Let us admonish them, if we may speak with any that are so ill disposed, and show them the danger that hangs over their heads. Let us say to them, Thou hast done wickedly in the sight of God; thou hast resisted the ordinance of God, because thou hast resisted the power which he hath ordained; thou hast stricken with the sword, therefore shalt thou perish by the sword; thou hast disquieted the Israel of God, therefore God shall disquiet thee. Such rebels are unruly; they rise up against their prince, as did Dathan and Abiram against Moses; they advance themselves against God, as did Lucifer, therefore shall they be cast down alive into hell.

Comfort the feeble-minded, and those that are heavy in heart; who suffer imprisonment, and live in poverty, and are grieved, and cannot help themselves. Say unto them, as St. James, Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised them that love him. Say unto them, as St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. Comfort them with the words of the prophet, Psal. cxxvi. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. Comfort them with the words of Christ, Luke vi. Blessed are ye which weep now, for ye shall laugh.

See that none recompense evil for evil to any man. Though you suffer many things at the hands of the wicked, yet you may not be followers of that evil which is in them. Avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord; therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, Rom. xii.

Herein shall it appear, if we love our neighbour as ourselves; if we patiently abide injuries, and seek to do good to them that grieve and oppress us: I say unto you, saith Christ, Matt. v. love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that hurt you, and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father that is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to arise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust.

* See note, p. 166.

Verse 16. *Rejoice evermore.*

The joy of the wicked shall have an end; they rejoice in their goods, in their wisdom, in their peace, and worldly safety, and in the multitude of their children, or descent of their pedigree. This joy is transitory; it fadeth and abideth not. The world passeth, saith St. John, 1 John ii. and the lust thereof. They rejoice in their wickedness; the lute and harp, tabret and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord; they eat up the people as it were bread; they do whatsoever they can devise against the servants of God; but the latter end of their joy shall be heaviness; as it is said, Luke vi. Woe be unto you that laugh now, for you shall weep and lament.

But the joy of the righteous is everlasting; their heart shall rejoice, and no man shall take their joy from them; they have comfort in this—that their names are written in the book of life; they know the Lord is at hand, therefore they are careful for nothing, but rejoice always in the Lord. St. Peter therefore saith, you are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be showed in the last time; wherein ye rejoice, though now for a season, if need require, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations. Again: Ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorious, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls. This is the happiness, the joy, and the comfort that the godly have, and which shall continue with them.

Verse 17. *Pray continually.*

It is the part of a good Christian and a wise man to know himself, and to know the nature of this flesh, which we bear about with us, which fighteth always so mightily against the spirit; to know the waywardness and crookedness of our heart, and the weakness and vanity of our mind. Many are so far from this, that they think all their ability is of themselves. I have, saith he, judgment, I have the light of reason, I have sense, I have understanding and counsel, and the ordering of mine own way. Thus say they that neither know God nor themselves.

But we must humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and acknowledge that we are nothing. We must confess with St. Paul, Rom. vii. I know that in me, that is to say, in my flesh, dwelleth no good. And again, Rom. ix. It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy. Our Saviour saith, John iii.

That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. And God saith, Gen. viii. The imagination of man's heart is evil, from his youth. He hath made us, and not we ourselves; he knoweth us, and not we ourselves. This is his saying and his judgment of us: this we find true. For our will is froward, and our understanding blind; therefore saith the prophet, Jer. x. O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk and direct his steps. And Solomon, Prov. xx. The steps of man are ruled by the Lord; how can a man then understand his own way? And the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xviii. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are you in my hand, O Israel. I mould you, and form you to my glory.

When the apostle puts the Corinthians in mind of that good success which God gave unto his ministry among them, he saith. 2 Cor. iii. Such trust have we through Christ, to God; not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any thing as of ourselves: but our sufficiency is of God. Christ showed this to his disciples, John xv. I am the vine, you are the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing. To the Philippians saith Paul, chap. ii. It is God which worketh in you both the will and the deed, even of his good pleasure. It is God that disposeth our goings, and turneth our hearts as seemeth best to him. He is able to make of the stones in the streets, children unto Abraham; he is able to take away our stony heart, and to give us a heart of flesh.

The consideration hereof leads us to seek help and comfort by prayer, at the hand of God; and then, because we stand in continual need of God's help, either to give us something that is good, or to deliver us from that which is evil the apostle bids us to pray continually. The ears of the Lord are open to the prayers of the righteous.

Therefore Christ saith, Matt. vii. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. God will give you your heart's desire. Let us therefore go boldly to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need, Heb. iv.

David prayed unto God, Open thou mine eyes, lighten my darkness; direct my feet into the way of peace; incline my heart, O Lord, unto thy testimonies; stablish, O God,

that which thou hast wrought in us; take not thy Holy Spirit from us; be thou our helper in troubles; O forsake us not utterly. He found no way to attain unto knowledge of the will of God, unless God would open his understanding, and endue him with his Spirit. Faith is the gift of God, or else was the apostle's prayer in vain—" Increase our faith." Our Saviour teaches us to pray in this manner, Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done; because without the grace and mercy of God we can do nothing to the setting forth of his glory.

Verse 18. *In all things give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus towards you.*

These three are the badges or cognizance of a Christian soldier; to rejoice in the mercy of God; to be fervent in prayer; and to give thanks to God in all things. The heathens, who have no part in the kingdom of Christ, are thankful for their life, and liberty, and wealth, and glory, and worldly prosperity: but Christians ought to be thankful in persecution, in thraldom, in adversity, in shame, in misery, and in death itself.

Who would think that a lion, which, by nature, is fierce and cruel, should yield forth honey? yet Samson found honey in the body of a lion. Who would think it likely that a man should be preserved in the belly of a fish? Jonah was swallowed up of a whale, and yet not hurt. Who would think that a man might be saved in the midst of burning fire? yet the three servants of God walked in the fire safely, and came safe forth again.

We know, saith the apostle, Rom. viii. that all things work together for the best, unto them that love God. The apostles rejoiced in their persecutions, that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, speaking of this perfection in the godly, saith, Rom. v. We rejoice under the hope of the glory of God; and not so only, but also we rejoice in tribulations.

Who hath not heard of the patience of Job? His herds of cattle were driven away, his houses consumed with fire, his children slain, his body stricken with a scurf or manginess, his wife loathed him, and his friends forsook him: what did Job in all these miseries? what thought he, or what spake he? Let his patience in suffering, and his words of thanksgiving, teach us how to bear adversity. The Lord, said he, hath given, and the Lord hath taken it: blessed

be the name of the Lord. Again, Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.

Who is able to express the manly comfort of his heart, who said, I will trust in him though he kill me—he is my God; I am his creature: his will be done. I will always give him thanks, and praise his holy name. By these we are taught to give thanks in poverty in afflictions, in misery, and in all things, though they are heavy and grievous unto us.

What are we then, who are neither thankful for riches, nor for health, nor for our pleasures, nor in the abundance of all things? Yea, who abuse the good gifts of God to dishonour God, who hath given them unto us? The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is; the world, and they that dwell therein. He openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with his good blessing. Let us look up into the heaven; there is God the Father of lights, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh; there is our Redeemer Jesus Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

When we turn in our beds; when we see our fare, and the furniture of our table; when we see our servants and children about us; when we see our money and houses and lands, let us think with ourselves, how many good men, and faithful servants of God, lack the same, and have not received these blessings in such measure as we have. In all these things God speaks to us, and says, I have given them thee; thou hast them at my hands; use them well, and be not unthankful.

If I would stand herein, and declare what causes we have to give thanks unto God, I should never make an end. There is no beast on the ground, no fish in the sea, no bird in the air, no leaf of the tree, no corn of the field, no sand on the shore, no drop of water, no sparkle of fire, but God created them all for the sons of men. So much are we bound always to give thanks unto God; and to say, as the prophet, Psal. viii. O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the world! Let us confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.

But who is able to render thanks sufficient to God, for that he gives us the knowledge of his gospel, and makes us know the secrets of his will? This is a great blessing, and far above all the other comforts of this life. They that have

not this, are in darkness, and in the shadow of death. To be short, even in death we have to praise God; we must say, I thank thee, O God, for thou hast delivered him from the body of this death; thou hast translated him unto thyself, that so he may remain with thee in thy glory. Thus, whithersoever ye turn, what state, or part of life or death soever ye consider, whether it be trouble or peace, things present or things to come, heaven or earth, life or death, you shall always find causes to be thankful.

Verse 19. *Quench not the Spirit.*

He means by the Spirit, the gifts and graces of the Spirit. The Spirit of God is the Spirit of wisdom and the Spirit of truth. No man, saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Again, Rom. viii. The Spirit helpeth our infirmities. And again, The same Spirit beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God. It is he that leadeth us into all truth, that openeth our hearts to understanding, and guideth our feet into the way of peace.

Oh! saith he, despise not the wisdom of the Spirit; refuse not his help, but seek it, that you may be strengthened; comfort yourselves in his testimony of your adoption; quench not the light he hath kindled in your hearts; disdain not his leading; abuse not his mercy; abuse not the time of your visitation; let not such great mercy of God be bestowed on you in vain; fulfil not your own wills, abstain from fleshly lusts, walk in the Spirit, desire the best gifts, and let every man, as he hath received the gift, so minister the same to another, as good disposers of the manifold grace of God, 1 Pet. iv.

Verse 20. *Despise not prophesying.*

Prophesying is the preaching and expounding of the word of God; and he is called a prophet, and doth prophesy, who opens unto us the will of God. This is not meant of fond and vain and lying prophecies, as were those of Merlin, and such like, which tell you tales of lions, and bears, and goats, of the sun, of the moon, and many strange devices. Such prophecies must be despised, they are works of darkness, and forged by the devil to make uproars, and to beguile the people.

But despise not prophesying: that is, despise not to hear the word of God; turn not away thine ear from under-

standing. God giveth power to his word, that it may work according to his good pleasure. It will let thee see the weakness of thine error, and settle thee in the way wherein thou shouldest walk. If it had been dangerous for the people to hear the preaching of the gospel, he would not have sent his apostles unto all the world. If Lydia should not have liked to hear Paul prophesy, how might she have known God?

If those great numbers who heard Peter and were converted, had despised prophesying, and would not have heard him open the gospel unto them, they had never considered the great mercy of God, nor sought to be instructed in their salvation. Faith cometh by hearing. This hath been the means by which Christ hath given knowledge to kings, and princes, and all nations. It hath pleased God, saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.

Despise not then to come to the church of God, to pray in the congregation of the faithful, to hear the Scriptures of God read and expounded; it is the blessing of God offered unto thee. Where there is no prophecy the people perish. He that despiseth it shall be despised of the Lord; he shall be cast into darkness, because he would not delight in the light.

Verse 21. *Try all things, and keep that which is good.*

Try all things. God hath given you the Spirit of discretion and of judgment. Be wise, and know what is that good and acceptable will of God. Be not deceived with words of man's wisdom; let not the baseness or simplicity of any, cause you to refuse the message which he brings, and carry not yourselves to liking of all that shall be told you by such as bear great show and countenance. This it was that deceived the people of God; they gave ear to false teachers, who led them to worship the works of their own hands; therefore they said unto the stone, Thou art our father, thou hast delivered us; they fell down before it, worshipped it, believed in it, they slew the prophets of God, and stoned to death such as were sent unto them.

The scribes and pharisees seemed so grave and wise, that the people thought nothing good but what they allowed; they were altogether pliable to believe, to do, to speak, and to think, whatsoever the pharisees willed them. Christ saith unto them, Matt. vii. Beware of false prophets, which come

to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. St. John, 1 John iv. therefore saith, Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world. And further he directs us how we should try them: Hereby shall ye know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. Again, hereby you may try them: Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that continueth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not to your house, neither bid him God-speed.

Hereby St. Paul required the Galatians to try between him and the false apostles: If any man preach unto you otherwise than that ye have received, let him be accursed. For now, do I preach man's doctrine or God's? The sadducees erred touching the resurrection, because they searched not the Scriptures. God teaches us by the prophet Isaiah, chap. viii. to make trial of teachers and doctrines: When they shall say unto you, Inquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the soothsayers, which whisper, and murmur—Should not a people inquire at their God? from the living to the dead? to the law and to the testimony? If they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. Paul puts Timothy in mind wherefore he left him at Ephesus, To command some that they teach none other doctrine; and to warn both the teachers and the hearers, that they give no heed to fables and genealogies, which are endless, which breed questions, rather than godly edifying, which is by faith.

Thus are the people of God called to try the truth, to judge between good and ill, between light and darkness. God hath made them the promise of his Spirit, and hath left his word unto them. They of Berea when they heard the preaching of Paul, searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so as he taught them, and many of them believed. So do you give heed to instruction, and yet receive not all things, without proof and trial that they are not contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the word of God.

Keep that which is good. When you have tried and found out the truth, be constant and settled in it. A wavering-minded man is unstable in all his ways. Follow

the truth, and be not carried about with every wind of doctrine. The devil will come in the name of God, and change himself into an angel of light. Let him not take the love of the truth from you; let him not remove you from faith and a good conscience; return not like swine unto your mire. God hath purged your hearts, and made them clean. Except they be preserved and kept occupied, the unclean spirit will return, and enter in, and dwell in you; so the last state of you shall be worse than the first.

We have great cause to hearken diligently to the apostle, *to keep that which is good.* We see this day great confusion in all places. Satan would fain entangle us again with the error of the wicked, and seeks to draw us from our steadfastness. Now is the time wherein God makes some trial of his servants; now iniquity seeks to have the upper hand. They seduce the people, and say, Here is Christ, there is Christ; here is the church, there is the church. God give us his Holy Spirit, to guide us in judgment, that we may discern the truth from falsehood, and know the blessed and gracious will of God, that we may walk in his ways, and serve him in reverence and fear all the days of our life.

In this world, as there is a Jacob, so is there an Esau; as there are many that love Christ with an unfeigned heart, so are there many that serve antichrist; and as there are many true professors of the truth of God, so are there many despisers of the same. This we may see here at home within this realm. We may see it, mourn and lament for it in our hearts.

Their practices are opened; they have broken out into open rebellion, to the breach of the peace both of God and man; they say with their lips, God save queen Elizabeth; yet they hold up their swords against her. Alas! what has she deserved at their hands? She has always dealt mercifully, without cruelty, without shedding of blood. God preserve her, that she may long reign over us, and bring all her enemies to confusion!

What pretence make they for this their doing—That hereby they seek to have religion reformed? Thanks be to God, religion is reformed far better than our fathers knew it these many hundred years. If those who lived before us might have seen and heard, as we see and hear, they would have rejoiced, and thought themselves happy.

But they would have the mass. What find they or see they in it, wherefore they should so desire it? Try all

things, saith Paul; therefore, examine and try the mass. What do we learn by it? what doctrine, what godliness in life, what comfort for salvation? It is a dumb and deadly service; the people are forced to be at it; it is the very key of their religion. The people are bound to be present at mass; yet they neither receive any thing, nor eat, nor hear, nor understand any thing. You are wise, you have reason, you are the children of God; be you judges herein, and judge uprightly; for it is God's cause. Will they call this the Lord's supper? is this the sacrament of our redemption? is this that which Paul received of the Lord, and delivered unto the church? is this the showing forth of the Lord's death until he come?

They would have the pope's authority restored. What is the pope? They say, he is the successor of Peter. What doth the pope as Peter did? or what did Peter as the pope doth? He is a mortal man, and cursed are they of God that put their trust in man. He feeds not the flock, he teaches not the simple, he strengthens not the weak. I will say no more. God make him a servant of Christ, and a faithful disposer of the mysteries of God.

They are offended at the marriage of the ministers of the church: yet Gratian, their great master, saith, The marriage of priests is not forbidden by any authority, either of the law, or of the gospel, or of the apostles.* The holy fathers that lived in the apostles' time, and shortly after, report, that Peter, and all the other apostles, excepting only John, were married, and had wives; the prophet Isaiah was married, and yet he saw the Lord sitting upon a high throne; Moses was married, and yet he saw God face to face.

Will they reform the prophets and the apostles? will they account that to be unholy, which the apostle calleth honourable in all men? Ignatius, the scholar of St. John, saith, I wish to be found meet for God, as was Peter and Paul, and the other apostles that were married.

They paint their banner with the cross and five wounds. Why bring they thosearmsagainst us?† Do not we believe the cross of Christ? do not we rejoice and comfort our hearts

* Gratian was a celebrated Benedictine of the twelfth century. He published a work under the title of "Decretal," in which he endeavoured to explain and reconcile the canons and papal decrees which contradict each other. The popes were much indebted to this work for the high powers they assumed before the Reformation, but many of the authorities he quotes are spurious and suppositious.

† The standards of the rebels bore this device (see note, p. 166.)

by the remembrance of his wounds? Do not we read and show forth to the people the story of his passion? God knoweth, and you can bear us witness, and they cannot deny it, that we make this work of our redemption, wrought by the passion of our Saviour Christ, the chief and principal rock and foundation of our faith.

Therefore say we with the apostle, God forbid that we should rejoice in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nay, rather, they are become our enemies, because we believe in Jesus Christ crucified; because we say, as God's word teaches, that Jesus Christ is the only Advocate to the Father for our sins; and that He hath with one offering consecrated for ever them that are sanctified; and that, The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin, Heb. x. 1 John i. For this cause are they become our enemies.

Let us not fear their treacheries and attempts; let us keep that which is good, and hold it fast until death. Now we have tasted the word of God, and have received the comfort of the gospel, let us not despise it, nor be weary of it; let us pray unto God, that he establish the love of his truth in us; and that he will open the eyes of their hearts, and bring them to be partakers of those mercies, which yet, through ignorance, they have despised.

Verse 22. *Abstain from all appearance of evil.*

Keep yourselves not only from doing those things which are evil, but also from all appearance of evil. Offend not the conscience of thy brother, that he may have no occasion to think evil of thee. Commit not adultery, and withdraw thyself from the company of unthrifty and light and suspected persons. Be not like to them that are such. Lay not out thy money to usury, nor do any thing whereby others may think so of thee. Beware of uncharitable conveyance of thy money. Be not idolaters, and leave off to do any thing that may bring you into suspicion of idolatry.

Give not that honour unto any creature which is proper to God; have no fellowship with their works; bear no appearance of liking their evil; go not as they go; live not as they live. St. Paul reproves the Galatians, chap. iv. Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain. So doth he the Colossians also, chap. ii. If ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why, as though ye

lived in the world, are ye burdened with traditions? as Touch not, taste not, handle not? So do the idolaters; you should not be like unto them.

They are the children of darkness, you are the sons of light; they will not be like unto you, and forsake their false gods. Why should you become like unto them, and forsake the God that made the heavens and the earth? You cannot make them ashamed of their errors, and embrace the truth. Why then should you betray the truth, and be partakers with them in error?

The Christians in old time began to wear garlands made of bay. What harm might be in that? what is a garland, but a furniture for the head? what is bay, but a little tree or bush? Yet the fathers that lived with them to teach them, said it was not lawful, not for that the thing itself was ill of itself, but for that they should not seem to follow idolaters. It had some appearance of evil; it was a ceremony and solemn fashion among the heathens; they would not be emboldened to do so; it would offend the hearts of many of the faithful to see Christians follow the fashion of the heathen.

When king Antiochus sent unto Jerusalem, and to the cities of Judah, that they should follow the strange laws of the country, many chose rather to die than to be defiled with unclean things, and to break the holy covenant, which God had given them.

Darius made a decree, that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions. Daniel would not be kept so long from the service of God; he would not dissemble, he would not hide his zeal, nor show any appearance of ill; he prayed, and praised God, as he did before, and opened his chamber-windows, that it might be seen. Dan. vi.

Polycarp* might have saved his life, if he would have dissembled; he would not, he could not; he saw it would have been an appearance of evil, and discourage the brethren; therefore he spake boldly, I am a Christian. And being required to speak ill of Christ, said, "I have served Christ these fourscore and six years, and he never hurt me; how may I speak ill, and blaspheme my King, who hath given me salvation? This is my faith, Christ is my God;

* Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna, and was martyred at Rome about A. D. 167.

this is my religion; I am not ashamed to suffer death, rather than I will deny Him, who suffered death in his own body to save me."

It is good, saith St. Paul, Rom. xiv. neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak. Again he saith, 1 Cor. viii. Now when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye offend against Christ; wherefore if meat offend my brother, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I should offend my brother. He that hath once made a shipwreck, standeth watchful ever after, not only to escape that rock or sand whereat he had loss before, but all others the like rocks and sands whatsoever.

Therefore, abstain from all appearance of evil; be not like the wicked of this world; you are the salt of the earth; you should not be partners of their corruption, but powder and season them; you are the light of the world; you may not be partners in their darkness, but lighten and guide them. Dissemble not. Serve God in the simplicity of your heart, and in the sight of all the world. Let it be written in your forehead what you think in your heart. Why should any man be ashamed of God's truth?

Verse 23. *Now the very God of peace sanctify you throughout; and I pray God, that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be kept blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Our God is the God of peace; he giveth peace and quiet to his church; he doth muzzle the lion, amaze the tyrant, make blunt the sword, and quench the fire prepared against his servants; he gives his sons peace and quietness among themselves; he abhors discord and malice between brethren. God is love, saith St. John, 1 John iv. and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death, 1 John iii. God hath made us all members of one body. There is no respect of persons with him, no difference of learned and unlearned, wise or foolish, rich or poor.

His will is, that all should be as one, of one mind, and that we shall all think one thing, and speak one thing, that we should be one fold under one shepherd, and with one mouth glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For this peace Christ prayed, Sanctify them through thy truth;

bless them, take away all bitterness and swelling pride from among them; make them citizens of thy heavenly Jerusalem, that they may live in peace, and love one another, and delight one in other; that they all may be one, as thou, O Father, art one in me, and I in thee, John xvii.

God is the God and giver of peace. Whence then cometh division and dissension of minds; what is the cause that the whole world is so shaken with sects and troubles? All are not the children of peace. Christ himself, the Lamb of God, in whose mouth there was no guile, came unto his own, and his own received him not. Cain is always against Abel. Esau will never love Jacob. The darkness and the light can never agree. This is the cause of all unquietness and trouble. These things, saith Christ to his disciples, John xvi. have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace; in the world you shall have affliction. The wicked shall not only hate, but betray, and cause them to die, which profess the name of Christ. Whosoever killeth you, will think he doeth God service; and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me.

The setting forth of the gospel of Christ is that which the world cannot abide; it reveals things that were hidden; it discloses the covetousness of those who kept the people in ignorance to make gain and merchandise of their souls; it overthrows mighty buildings and holds of merits, of pardons, of masses, of purgatory, which, by the policy, and wisdom, and power of this world, were exalted against God. This is the only cause of all this strife and trouble.

We have need of peace, of the peace of conscience, within ourselves; of peace, from the rage and fury of the world; and of peace and love among those that are of God's household. Let us seek peace at the hands of God, and he will stablish us in the peace of his gospel, and so give us the rest and peace of our souls.

Sanctify you throughout. The God of peace bless you, and keep you under the shadow of his wings; that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Here mark, that the apostle divides man into three parts, the spirit, the soul, and the body; so that he seems to make the spirit one thing, and the soul another. How is it then, that we divide man into two parts, the soul and the body; and say, that he consists but of two parts; there is no difference; the matter

is all one; for Paul divides the soul into two parts; the first is reason and understanding, which he calls the spirit; the other is will and affection, which he calls the soul.

For as God hath given us reason to see what is good, so hath he given us will to seek after that which is good. Reason hath eyes, will is blind, and cannot see the way: therefore will must be led and guided by reason; reason must go before, will must follow after: therefore reason is compared to the husband, and will to the wife. If will take in hand to rule reason, it is no less disorder, than if the wife will adventure or take upon her, to rule her husband; therefore in this place reason, which is the principal part of our soul, is called the spirit; and will, which is the other part, is called the soul. So the spirit is not a several substance; but the soul and spirit are one soul, even as the body and flesh are one body.

Thus, therefore, Paul prays for the church: The God of peace sanctify you throughout, that your spirit, your reason and understanding, your soul, your will and affection, your body and your flesh, may altogether be pure and holy; and that they may be found innocent and upright, in the day of the Lord.

Verse 24. *Faithful is He which calleth you, which will also do it.*

He hath begun a good work in you; he will finish it. He will lead you from virtue to virtue, from strength to strength, from glory to glory. He hath called you, he will also keep you faithful, until the day of the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. You are Christ's sheep: no man shall take you out of his hands. He hath not lost one of all those whom his Father hath given him; he knoweth his sheep; none shall be confounded that put their trust in him. There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. He is faithful, he will perform this unto you; not for your merits, but for his own name, and for his mercy's sake. Because he is faithful, he will not despise the work of his own hands.

Verse 25. *Brethren, pray for me.*

I wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with the prince and power of darkness. My enemies are strong; they are the enemies of the cross of Christ. I am weak, and of no resistance; our sufficiency is of him; without him we can do nothing; pray for me, that he will put his word into my

mouth, that I may be a vessel of his glory, to preach forth the glad tidings of his gospel; that I may be a faithful minister of the New Testament; that I may disclose the mystery of our redemption; that his Holy Spirit assist me, and make my travails fruitful.

Verse 26. *Greet all the brethren with a holy kiss.*
27. *I charge you in the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the brethren the saints.*

Salute one another in token of true and unfeigned love and withhold not this epistle from any of the brethren. It is written for their sakes; let them hear it, that they may take comfort by it. How agrees Paul in this charge, with them that in no case would have the people read the Scriptures; who say that ignorance is the mother of devotion? It is the word of God the Father; why should not the people of God understand it? It is the water that springeth up to everlasting life; why should the people of God be driven away, and not suffered to drink thereof? It is the light of the world; why should the people be hoodwinked, and kept that they should not look up and see it? why should they sit, and perish in the darkness of death?

It is the will of God, that all the people should know him; from the least to the greatest among them. St. Paul saith, Rom. xv. Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. Christ saith, John xvii. This is life eternal, to know thee to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. Let us not forget these words of Paul: *I charge you in the Lord;* by his death, by his cross, by his blood, by the day of his appearance, that this epistle be read to the learned and unlearned; to the wise and simple; to the masters and to the servants; to all our brethren; to all the sons of God.

Verse 28. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.*

God open your eyes, that you may behold the way of righteousness, and direct you, that you may walk in it. Through his grace you have received the word, and it hath been fruitful in you, and by the same grace you shall continue in it for ever. His grace, and blessing, and mercy, be with you all. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

OF

ST. PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God our Father, and in our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the former epistle he wrote somewhat touching the latter day, and the coming of our Lord to judgment, and saith, That day shall come as a thief in the night; and therefore exhorted them to watch and pray, and to prepare themselves to be in readiness. The false apostles fondly and maliciously mistook his words, and devised means thereby to disquiet the minds of the faithful, and to trouble the church of God.

Thus could the prince of darkness, the old serpent and deceiving spirit, turn the truth of God into occasion of slander. In the mean while the apostle was far off from them, at Athens; but when he heard of their case, he sent unto them this other epistle, wherein he declared more plainly that matter which before seemed doubtful, and sought to satisfy their hearts, and to remove them from all that error which they had conceived.

In discourse hereof, he takes occasion to speak of antichrist, of whom we hear much, and have had warning often. He telleth us, that he shall come in working of signs and wonders; that he is the man of sin, which shall thrust himself into the place of Christ. He showeth who is antichrist, and how we may know him; what things he shall do, what credit he shall have in the world, and by what power he shall be overthrown and confounded.

After this he speaketh of idleness, and of bodily labour; and requireth every man to live in the sweat of his brow,

and in painful travail, as God hath ordained. Other comfortable and necessary doctrine is delivered in this epistle, as will appear. The whole matter of the epistle is fit for these days in which we live, as if it were purposely written for us; for we live in the latter age of the world, and it cannot be, but the end of all things is at hand, and that the glorious appearing of our Lord shall be shortly.

Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus. This epistle was sent, not only from Paul, but also from Timothy and Silvanus. These three were all guided by one spirit, and had all one like care for the church of God: therefore he writeth thus; Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, the servants of God, chosen from our mothers' womb, and appointed to publish the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to carry his name before kings and princes; and especially I Paul, who am your father, and have begotten you in Christ; who was sometime a blasphemer, and did persecute the faithful; whom it pleased God to make a chosen vessel for himself; who am also hated of my brethren and kinsmen after the flesh, for the gospel's sake; and who am ready to give my life for your behalf.

Unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God our Father, &c. You are, saith he, the beloved of God, you are his people, and he hath assured his mercy unto you; you have the promise, and the earnest of the life to come.—Here let us mark the state of that country as it was then, and compare it with itself as it is now. Then it was the church of God, for otherwise St. Paul would not so have called it. According to the grace of God given unto him, he laid the foundation, he planted and watered their hearts, and God gave the increase.

So that they received the word in much affliction, and the word of the gospel sounded from them, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but their faith toward God was spread also abroad in all quarters. In such sort were they a vessel sanctified unto honour, full of blessing, and full of the mercy and grace of God.

But what is become of that country? In what case standeth the church of Thessalonica at this day? It is now the synagogue of Satan, under the tyranny of the Turk, and such as are enemies of the cross of Christ. Such a change hath the right hand of the Lord wrought in that place which was sometime his holy tabernacle. I thought good to mark this, that we might understand how vain a thing it

is, to put confidence in cities or churches, or in the names of our fathers.*

The church of Thessalonica, whose foundation was surely built by St. Paul himself, for which he was so careful, unto which he wrote special letters, to commend their increase in godliness, and their steadfastness in the gospel, is forsaken and laid waste. If the work which the Spirit of God wrought by the apostle be decayed, whose work may we think shall stand?

Jeremiah spake unto the people of the Jews, saying, chap. vii. Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord! That temple God himself commanded to be built, the form and fashion thereof God himself devised and appointed; therein he placed his tabernacle, and set up his mercy-seat; therein he showed forth his majesty, and the glory of his countenance. Yet all this notwithstanding, God said by the prophet, Trust not in these words, they are lying words, and will deceive you.

As the prophet spake of the temple at Jerusalem, so may it be said of any other church throughout the world; so may it be said of the church of Rome. We may say, Trust not in lying words, saying, The church of Rome, the church of Rome! Say not thus with yourselves, The church of Rome is built upon a rock, so surely that it cannot be moved, or that no wind can shake it; say not, the faith of that church can never fail. These are lying words; trust not in them; for Christ never spake any such thing of the church of Rome; it never had promise of more special privilege than was given to the church of Thessalonica. Read the Scriptures, behold the words of our Saviour, and consider them; you shall find no speech made of the church of Rome, nor any promise or piece of promise, wherein he binds himself more to the church of Rome than he has done to other churches, or to this of Thessalonica.

Thessalonica was beautiful in the sight of God; the Lord of hosts had pitched his tents round about her; the name of the Most Holy was placed in the midst of her; she enjoyed like spiritual peace and prosperity, as did the Jerusalem of the Almighty; she was a city fenced within itself;

* Thessalonica, is now called Salonichi. It was a celebrated city, and the capital of a part of Macedonia, a great mart for trade and very populous. Somewhat of its ancient splendour remains, it is five miles in circumference, and has 60,000 inhabitants. *Dr. Clarke.*

but the Lord hath taken away the light of his countenance from her. She hath forsaken the ways of righteousness, she hath left off to serve the Lord, and is become the place which the Lord hath forsaken; there is scarcely any remnant left there of those who call upon the name of our salvation, and love the Lord Jesus with an unfeigned heart.

This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And is his hand shortened, that he cannot, or is his zeal abated, that he will not, in like severity, deal with such as forsake him? If he spared not the natural branches, if Jerusalem were overthrown because of her iniquities, it cannot be that he will spare other places which do the like, but that they should also be cut off.

This is it what our Saviour hath said in the gospel of St. Matthew, ch. xxi. Therefore I say unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation, which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. Such terrible and dreadful examples hath God laid before our eyes, to keep us in his fear, and in the awe of his judgments.*

Verse 2. *Grace be with you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*

This is the salutation of Paul in all his epistles; and is to say, I wish that the blessing, and favour, and love of God may light upon you. But for the better consideration hereof, and that we may know how earnestly we ought to pray unto God for this grace and peace which the apostle wisheth to the churches, let us look into ourselves, and see how miserable we are, if we be left void of this grace; and if God take his Holy Spirit away from us, what are we by nature, other than the bond-slaves of sin? We are not able to lift up our eyes unto heaven, nor to believe in God, nor to praise him, nor to call upon his name; we are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves.

Unless he open our lips, we cannot show forth his praise; unless he heal our deafness, we cannot give ear to his word; unless he give us understanding hearts, we cannot take knowledge of his will. Destruction and unhappiness are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known;

* The circumstance of Thessalonica still remaining a populous city, and yet utterly destitute of the light of the truth, is if possible a still more instrucive lesson than the desolation of the churches in Asia, where the places themselves are ruined and without inhabitants.

there is no fear of God before their eyes; speaking of such as had not received the favour and grace of God to guide and direct them. And by the prophet Malachi God utters his displeasure against them, saying, I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts; neither will I accept an offering at your hands.

Therefore the apostle prayeth that they may receive such measure of God's grace as may quench in them the fiery darts of the wicked, and enable them to hold fast that worthy thing which is committed unto them, and may keep them holy and undefiled, against the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Verse 3. *We ought to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the love of every one of you towards another aboundeth.*

4. *So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God, because of your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye suffer.*

God hath wrought this good work of faith, and love, and patience in your hearts; he will make it prosper and increase. It is he who hath put this fire in you, and he will make it burn. He hath laid his leaven in the dough, or meal of your heart, and will make it heave, and work, until all be leavened. He will make you abound more and more, and will bring to a good end that which he hath begun.

Your faith groweth exceedingly. This is the will of God, that we wax and increase in all holiness. Hereby we know, whether we be of God or no; we may not stand at a stay, but must be renewed. One saith, Whosoever mendeth not himself in the practice of virtue, he groweth worse. God hath placed us in a race to run; we must so run, that we may attain the prize; we are grafts of the Lord's planting; we must grow to the height and breadth of a tree, and bring forth fruit; we are pilgrims and strangers, and pass by the wilderness of this world, into our heavenly resting-place; we may not stay by the way, but must remove our tents, and continually march on forward until that day come, when we shall enter into the land of promise.

So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God, &c. Your faith is not only true and pure, but settled and constant; for you continued steadfast in the midst of

persecution; you have been tormented, and suffered afflictions in your body by the hands of tyrants; yet could they never remove you from your faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, nor from your obedience to the will of God. You know, that all who live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution, 2 Tim. iii.

Yet are you comforted, and say as the prophet David, Psal. cxviii. The Lord is with me, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. You cannot forget who it is that said, Matt. x. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me, I will also deny him before my Father which is in heaven. He that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it; he that endureth unto the end, he shall be saved. And again, Matt. v. Blessed shall ye be when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake, falsely. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Verse 5. *Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which ye also suffer.*

6. *For it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you.*

7. *And to you which are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall show himself from heaven, with his mighty angels.*

8. *In flaming fire, rendering vengeance unto them that do not know, and which obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:*

9. *Which shall be punished with everlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power:*

10. *When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be made marvellous in all them that believe, because our testimony toward you was believed in that day.*

Many are the troubles which the righteous men do suffer, but the Lord will deliver them. After Paul and Barnabas had preached the glad tidings of the gospel, they confirmed the disciples' hearts, and exhorted them to continue in the faith; and said, Acts xiv. that we must through many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God. We must not there-

fore be afraid for any terror of them which trouble us for righteousness' sake; but rather looking over and beyond them, we must rejoice, and give thanks to God, who hath made us worthy, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, we have a building given of God, a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens, 2 Cor. v.

These persecutions and tribulations which you suffer, are a manifest token, saith the apostle, of God's love towards you. For whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth, Heb. xii. The prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, who were not only reviled and scourged, but beheaded, cut in pieces, drowned in the waters, consumed in the fire or by any other devices of tyrants cruelly put to death, by this way received the manifest token of their happy and blessed estate, and by this way entered into the kingdom of God. Athanasius, an ancient father, reckons the suffering of persecution to be a special note of a Christian man, saying, It is the part of Christians to be persecuted; but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas.

The Lord is not unjust, but all his works are righteousness and truth. Their little and short tribulation in this life, prepares an eternal and exceeding weight of glory unto his servants. Though they sow in tears, they shall reap in joy; they shall be taken up into heaven, and shall see God face to face, and shall be crowned with glory and honour. As for the ungodly, it is not so with them; they may flourish for a time, and have great power and authority in this world; but the Lamb shall overcome them, and their end shall be according to their works. David saith, Psal. xi. Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest. This shall be their portion to drink.

When the Lord Jesus shall show himself from heaven. There are many who are ashamed of Christ and of his word, in the presence of such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, and have countenance and authority in this world. But a time shall come, when Christ will show himself from heaven, accompanied with his holy angels; then will he also be ashamed of them, and put them from his presence; then will he render vengeance to them that have hated his truth; they shall then know whose members they have killed, and whose word and gospel it was, which they so despitefully

reproached; then the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night.

In this manner shall God triumph in victory over the wicked, by judging them to everlasting destruction, and will show himself wonderful in giving rest, and joy, and glory, and everlasting blessedness, to all those who love his truth, and believe in him.

Verse 11. *Wherefore we also pray always for you, that our God may make you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.*

12. *That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

God bless that good thing which he hath begun in you, and keep you steadfast in the truth, that you look not back now, after you have put your hand to the plough, and that you give no place to their dangerous and subtle persuasions, who persecute you; take heed to yourselves and beware, that you put not the word of God from you. He hath showed you his goodness and mercy, in that he hath delivered you from the power of darkness, and hath translated you into the kingdom of his dear Son.

I make my prayer to God without ceasing for you always, that he will make you worthy of this heavenly calling, and that he will ever more and more fill you with the riches and abundance of his goodness and mercy, that through him you may be made perfect in all good works.

CHAPTER II.

Verse 1. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our assembling unto him,*

2. *That ye be not suddenly moved from your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand.*

You are the children of those fathers which have fallen from their steadfastness, and have been led into error; beware, lest you also be carried away with every blast of false doctrine. The devil is subtle, his baits are pleasant, you are weak and simple, he will soon deceive you. Here let us consider how easily man may be deceived, that so we may

know the corruptions and weakness of our nature, and therefore what cause we have, ever to walk warily, to take heed to our steps, and to pray unto God, that he will incline our hearts unto his testimonies. When I say man may be deceived, I mean not boys, or children, or fools, or the simpler sort of men; but the learned, the wise, the politic; the kings and princes of the world; the teachers and rulers also of the people.

When Adam was yet in paradise, and made the ruler over all the beasts of the field, and was full of the graces and blessings of God, he soon departed from the counsel of God, and gave ear to the serpent; so easily was he deceived. Israel was as the apple of the Lord's eye, a people whom the Lord loved, and to whom he gave their heart's desire. He delivered them from Pharaoh, and with an outstretched arm led them through the Red Sea. Who would think such great mercies would ever be forgotten? or that such a people, so well instructed in the knowledge of God, and so often put in mind of their duty, should either the most part, or all of them, turn from God? Moses was absent but a while; he went aside to receive the tables of covenant; in the mean time they made unto themselves a molten calf, and worshipped it; they offered unto it, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt. So easily were the wisest of them, and Aaron, and the whole multitude, deceived, Exod. xxxii.

Their children after them forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth. They said to a tree, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast begotten me; they have turned their back to me, and not their face, saith God by the prophet Jeremiah. And was this the offence but of some small number of them? were they but few, or of the baser and simpler sort, whom the wicked spirit had thus seduced, to make them forsake the true and living God, and to give the glory due unto him to dumb creatures, and to the works of their own hands? No; they departed from God in great multitudes, with full consent and unity; they warranted their doings by antiquity, and by the custom of their fathers before them.

The prophet saith, According to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and to the number of the streets of Jerusalem, have ye set up altars of confusion, even altars to burn incense unto Baal, Jer. xi. And in another place he saith, A great multitude, even all the people that dwell

in the land of Egypt in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee; but we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour our drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, &c. Jer. xliv.

Thus even among that nation, which God hath chosen unto himself, the apostasy was so great, the departure from true holiness was so universal, that not only every city, but every street, was defiled with their idolatry. And, besides the women who burnt incense to other gods, a great multitude, yea, all the people with one consent, cried out against their preacher, refused to hear the word of God, and maintained their superstition.

The like may be said of the scribes and pharisees. They were wise, they were learned, and carried great show of holiness; yet they loved darkness better than light; they were blind leaders of the blind; they despised the commandments of God, for their own traditions; and not only they, but Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and people of Israel, gathered themselves together against the Lord, and against his Christ. What should I speak of those churches which the apostles of Christ planted, and watered, and confirmed in the truth? At Corinth, Paul preached the gospel; they received it gladly; he thanked God on their behalf, that in all things they were made rich in him, in all kind of speech, and in all knowledge; yet soon after they abused the holy mysteries, they denied the resurrection of the dead, they became carnal, and had envying, and strife, and contention among themselves.

The Galatians rejoiced so much in him, that he writeth thus of them: I bear you record, that if it had been possible, you would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me; yet they did not abide in the truth, but gave ear to false apostles, and were deceived; therefore he reproved them, saying, O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth? Are ye so foolish, that after ye have begun in the spirit, ye would now be made perfect in the flesh? Ye did run well; who did let you,* that ye did not obey the truth? I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain, Gal. iii. 4, 5.

This frailty and weakness of our corrupt nature hath

* Hinder you.

showed itself, and hath appeared in all ages. We and our fathers have gone astray, and have followed after lies. The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand, and seek God. All are gone out of the way, they are all corrupt, there is none that doeth good, no, not one, saith the prophet David, Psal. xiv. Therefore the apostle beseecheth the church at Thessalonica, that they settle themselves upon a sure foundation, and that they be not removed from the truth; he puts them in mind what they have heard, and of whom they have heard it, and exhorts them to continue steadfast therein.

Neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from us. Let no man entice you from the love of the truth, nor withdraw you or remove you from that blessed hope unto which you are called, neither by pretence of revelation, which any would seem to receive from the Spirit of God; nor by pretence of any word of mine, as if I had so spoken; nor by any letter given unto you in my name, as if I had so written.—In these words he not only strengthens them against such practices of crafty and false teachers, but gives them therewithal a testimony of their constant abiding in the truth of the gospel.

Otherwise, if the seducers had prevailed; and if the Thessalonians had yielded unto them, and received their error, he would then have framed his speech unto them after this manner: O suffer yourselves to be advised. You do not run well, you have lost the highway. Give place to the Spirit of God; submit yourselves under his mighty hand; refuse not the calling whereby he hath called you. I could speak such things, wherewith you would be better pleased; but your case is such it requires rather free, and plain, and sharp reprehension, whereby you may be brought to consider, and amend your errors, than fair and smoothed speech, which might hold you still in your folly.

Seek, therefore, the kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, and seek not yourselves. Weigh truth and falsehood in an indifferent* balance, so shall the heavier weight of the one, soon bewray the lightness of the other. What thing in the world, so massy and so weighty as is the truth? Harden not your hearts, as did your fathers in the wilderness. It is no sin to yield unto God; it is no shame to lay apart all affection, and to change your mind to the

* Impartial.

denial of all ungodliness, and embracing of true holiness. The wise man saith, There is a shame that bringeth sin, and a shame that bringeth worship and favour, Eccles. iv.

In this sort it is likely the apostle would have spoken, if need had so required, but now, seeing them forcibly assaulted, and they that yet strove with such good courage, against the persuasions of the wicked; he commends their steadfastness, and exhorts them by these words, not to yield unto their persecutors, nor to go from their faith in Christ Jesus.

Neither by Spirit. That is, by revelation of the Spirit. The Spirit of God wrought mightily, and bestowed sundry and great gifts upon men. Christ said to his disciples, Matt. x. When they deliver you up, take ye no thought, how, or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. And again saith he, John xiv. I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. The Holy Ghost shall be with you to assist you, to teach you all things, to direct your counsels, to lead you into all truth, and to preserve you from all error.

Now, as the Spirit of God was among the faithful, and distributed to every man several gifts,* as it seemed best to profit withal; so did the spirit of Satan wait upon the wicked, and possessed their hearts and bodies, and caused them to imagine and to do those things which were unseemly. He used them as instruments to disquiet the church of God, and to cast into it the seeds of error, of untruth, and dissension.

Of such spirits St. John giveth warning, saying, Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone into the world, 1 John iv. At what time Ahab would not believe the answer which the prophet Micaiah made him, there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, 1 Kings xxii. I will go out, and be a false spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.

This spirit ever walketh up and down, seeking whom he may devour, and blindeth the minds of many, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ may not shine unto them.

* Or separate gifts.

Take heed that you be not deceived by any such, which shall seek to abuse you, by pretence of revelation. Though they shall take upon them to tell you of the day or hour of the coming of our Lord, believe them not; for the false spirit is in the mouth of such prophets.

Nor by word. Or, if any shall report, and go about to persuade you, that I have so spoken or taught in the congregations, or will boldly countenance out such matters, and tell you, saying, I was present; I heard his words, and remember them. This was the doctrine which Paul preached; refuse him that is such a one, for he brings not the truth unto you, but deceives you with lying and vain fables.

Nor by letter, as it were from us. Again, it may be that they which lie in wait to destroy you, to make their way easier, will counterfeit letters, and send them unto you in my name. This is a token in them that they are past shame; be not you carried away by any such pretence from that which we have preached unto you. We have not taught you that the day of Christ is at hand; O, then, be not so soon removed away unto another gospel, by them which trouble you, and intend to pervert the gospel of Christ.

Many such sleights and false devices have been used by deceiving spirits to blind the eyes of the simple. There have been some who have set abroad their own fantasies under the names of Adam, the first man that God created upon the face of the earth, and Cain and Seth. Others have called their own dreams the gospel of Thomas, and of Bartholomew, and of Barnabas, and of the apostles of Christ. St. Augustine saith of the Manichees, The Manichees read secret, hidden scriptures, written, I know not by what cobblers of fables, under the name of the apostles. Such writings were never written by them whose name they bear, but were wickedly and falsely counterfeited under their names, by sundry heretics.*

This is that whereof our Saviour gave us warning, Matt. xxiv. Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. Again, he saith, If any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets. Into what shape cannot he

* Jewell here refers to some of the writings which are called the apocryphal books of the New Testament. An account of them is given in Horne's introduction to the Scriptures. They were printed by the Rev. J. Jones in his work on the canon of the New Testament.

transform himself? In whose name will not he craftily set forth his errors who dares falsely set himself in the place of the Son of God? This hath evermore been the practice of that old serpent, to change himself into the likeness of an angel of light, and, under the credit of holy men, to deceive the world with unholy and unwholesome things.

Since the time that the church of God hath departed from her first faith, and would no longer be guided by the voice of the gospel, what, and how great forgeries have there been wrought! what epistles, and canons, and decretals, have been devised, to maintain several parts of false religion, and published under the name of Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, and of others, whereof these holy fathers never thought! Thus have they cloaked themselves under the covert of the apostles, and of the fathers of the primitive church, and have sought to win credit in the world, by false show of antiquity.

It is certain that the Son of man shall come with his holy angels, and shall reward every man according to what he hath done in this life; then will he give sentence against the wicked, and will place the faithful at his right hand. In that day the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be utterly burned. In that day, we which live and remain, shall be caught up together with them (who are dead in Christ) in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, 2 Pet. iii. 1 Thess. iv. But of that day and hour knoweth no man: no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only, saith our Saviour Christ, Matt. xxiv.

Now it remains that we see, by occasion of this practice of the false prophets, or false apostles, of whom St. Paul here warns the Thessalonians, how the wicked abuse the Holy Scriptures, and understand them contrary to their meaning. St. Peter said, The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, 2 Pet. iii. even as Paul had written to this people; as also it is spoken in the words of Christ, They shall see the Son of man come in the clouds with power and great glory. The false apostles use the same words, and wrest them to evil purpose, and take upon them to judge of the end of the world, and at what time the coming of Christ should be.

Christ said, John ii. Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again. There arose certain, that did

bear false witness against him, saying, We heard him say he would destroy this temple, made with hands. They remembered that temple was forty and six years in building, and thought it impossible that he could rear it in three days. They took his words otherwise than he meant; they thought of the material temple of stone in Jerusalem, and he spake of the temple of his body.

Again Christ saith, Matt. xvi. Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. These are the words of Christ, spoken unto Peter, after he had witnessed of him, that he is Christ, the Son of the living God. Hereof they say, Peter is the rock, and the bishop of Rome is Peter's successor; he is the rock upon which the church is builded, and shall stand steadfast for ever. But they understand the words contrary to the meaning. For, alas! who would conceive that God would build his church upon a man, or upon any creature? Christ only is that rock whereupon his church is settled. Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

Therefore Chrysostom expounds those words, I will build my church upon this rock, that is, upon this faith and confession. Likewise St. Augustine, Upon this rock which thou hast confessed, upon this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, will I build my church; that is, I will build my church upon myself, who am the Son of the living God; I will not build myself upon thee, but I will build thee upon me.

Christ saith, John iii. Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. These words are most true; for by our own nature we are the vessels of God's wrath, and the children of damnation; unless we are regenerate, and born anew of water, and of the Holy Ghost, we cannot be saved. Yet Nicodemus, a wise man, a pharisee, and a ruler of the Jews, mistook this speech; it seemed strange unto him how a man might be born when he is old. Can he enter, saith he, the second time into his mother's womb, and be born? how can these things be? Jesus answered, and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things? This new birth must be from above, even by the working of the Holy Ghost.

Again Christ saith, John vi. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you. The Jews heard him, but mistook his words. They did not understand his meaning; therefore they said, This

is a hard saying; who can abide the hearing of it? They reasoned among themselves, how it might be, that either he could give them his flesh to eat, or that they could take his flesh and eat it, or take his blood to drink it. But when Jesus knew that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.

Hereof Augustine saith, They took the saying of Christ foolishly; they thought of it carnally, and imagined that the Lord would cut off small pieces from his body, and give it to them; therefore they said, This saying is hard:—they were hard, and not the saying; for if they had been meek and not hard, they would have said to themselves, This is not spoken without some cause: there is some mystery hidden under his words.

And again he saith, Understand those things spiritually, which I have spoken unto you. You shall not eat with the mouth of your body, this body that you see; nor shall you drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commended unto you some sacrament; understand it spiritually, and it shall quicken you.

Thus we see the true meaning of Christ's words, and after what gross manner the Capernaites understood them. Let us beware we fall not into like error. Christ spake truly of his body, when he called it a temple: the Jews destroyed it, and in three days he did raise it up again. Mistake not his words: be not deceived. It is true that he said, Upon this rock will I build my church. Mistake him not, Christ himself is the rock, and not Peter. It is true that a man must be born anew, or else he cannot be saved. Mistake not this: hereby is meant, not a bodily birth, but a renewing of the soul of man.

It is truly said, that Christ's flesh is that bread which came down from heaven, and giveth life to the world; but mistake it not, for this bread filleth not the body, but the mind; it requires the hunger of the inner man. Even so is it true, that the apostle saith of the day of the Lord; take heed you mistake him not, and fall into the error of the false apostles, who take upon them to appoint the time and hour when the Son of man shall come unto judgment.

Verse 3. *Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition.*

The church of God hath ever been under persecution and afflictions, as may appear by the histories of all ages; but God hath not failed to comfort them, and work their deliverance. Israel was in great bondage under Pharaoh; they were put to great slavery, to chop straw, and to bake brick, &c. Their male children were slain before their faces. This was done unto them, that they might be rooted out, and their name quite put out from the earth. It was high time for the Lord to put to his hand. They called upon him in their troubles, and he heard them; then sent he Moses and Aaron, and delivered them; he opened the Red Sea, and gave them passage.

When the Philistines oppressed them, God sent them Gideon, Barak, Deborah, and Sampson, whom he endued with wisdom and courage, and power to overcome their enemies, and to set them at liberty. What should I speak of Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Nero, Julian, and other tyrants? They oppressed the servants of God, and kept them in great misery; but God looked down from heaven, and was their helper in the time of need; he brake their cords asunder, and delivered them. The more cruelty was extended or practised against them, the more glorious did God show himself in the overthrow of their enemies. Great oppressions and cruel persecutions were done upon the saints of God by these and other wicked princes.

But the most cruel of any that ever were, are, or shall be, is the cruelty of ANTICHRIST. By him the church of God shall suffer great tribulations, such as were not from the beginning of the world; and then shall his fury increase, and his tyranny be the greater, when his kingdom shall decay, and the days of his desolation shall be at hand. Primasius saith, "Then shall Babylon come to the ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the saints of God." For then will God arise, and will judge his own cause; he will deliver the afflicted, and will slay antichrist with the breath of his mouth. Hereof Gregory saith thus: "The church, after these days of her affliction, shall afterward, notwithstanding, be strengthened with great power and might of preaching."

Except there come a departing first. There must first be a departing from faith in the church of God, and then shall be the coming of the Lord. There was one general departing in the days of Noah. All flesh had corrupted their ways; there was not any that did seek after righteous-

ness; then came the day of the Lord upon them; he poured out the waters, and they prevailed upon the earth, so that both man, and cattle, and worm, and the fowl of the heaven, were destroyed.

There was a general departing of the Jews and people of God at Jerusalem. They made the house of God a den of thieves; they saved a thief, and crucified the Lord of glory. God had no delight in them, neither regarded their sacrifices. Christ said unto them, Matt. xxiii. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which have been sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not? Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation, Luke xix. Such a departing it shall be, whereof the apostle speaketh, and so general, that the Son of man, when he cometh, shall hardly find faith upon the earth.

But this departing is diversly taken. Some understand it of the empire, that the kingdoms and countries which were before in subjection to that estate, shall depart from it, and that then antichrist shall spring up.* Others think, that this is spoken of that departing wherein the godly have carried themselves from the obedience of the church of Rome.

But others more truly say, it is the departure from the doctrine, and religion, and love, and obedience of the gospel of Christ, whereof, in another place, he saith, In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks of them which believe and know the truth, 1 Tim. iv. These men shall have a form of godliness, but shall deny the power thereof. They shall turn their ears away from the truth, and will incline their hearts to hear fables.

The words of the apostle are plain, to show that there shall be a departing. But as we see, it is not agreed upon, what manner of departing this shall be, nor by whom it

* This was a very general opinion amongst the early fathers, many of whom expressed themselves anxious for the continuance of the Roman empire, believing that when it should be removed antichrist would appear. See a note on verse 7, page 232.

shall be wrought. Our adversaries lay it unto us, saying, You have wrought this departing; you have departed from the church of Rome; you are they, of whom St. Paul hath spoken; you are the founders of antichrist; so say they: but would to God they and their fathers, and the church of Rome, had not wrought this departure.

Bernard beheld the state, and pride, and disorders of the church of Rome in his time, and therefore said, "It remaineth that the man of sin, that is, the son of perdition, be revealed, even the devil which flieth not only in the day, but destroyeth in the noon-day, which is not only changed into an angel of light, but is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." And Gregory saw who they were that should work this departing, and make way for antichrist, therefore said, "I speak it boldly, whosoever calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called, (as now the pope doth,) in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of antichrist."*

Now that we may yet better know what manner of departure that shall be, let us consider what St. Paul speaketh of the church of God, which was in his time. Unto the Corinthians he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. If all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of all men, and so are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so will he fall down on his face, and worship God, and say plainly, that God is in you indeed. How is it then, brethren? When you come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying, &c. for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as we see in all the churches. Blessed were they of God. All things among them were done to edifying.

The Holy Scriptures were read openly in the presence of the people; the people reverently kept silence, and gave ear, and understood the will of God, and submitted themselves unto it. The prayers were in a known tongue, so that the unlearned might understand them, and say, Amen. The holy mysteries were duly ministered; the people received the sacrament of the Lord's supper under both kinds, as

* Bernard lived in the twelfth century; Gregory at the conclusion of the sixth. For an account of his opposition to the bishop of Constantinople's assuming the title of universal bishop, see *History of the Church of Christ*, III. p. 44. 48.

Christ had instituted, and all communicated together. Chrysostom, writing upon that chapter, saith, "Verily the church then was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church."

In the time of Tertullian, the Christians still kept this manner, therefore he saith, "We meet together at the reading of the Holy Scriptures; we nourish our faith with those heavenly words; by them we raise up our hope, and settle our affiance and trust." Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, and other ancient and godly fathers, commended the reading of the Scriptures unto the people, called upon them to read themselves, or to get others to read unto them; and that they would hear them not only in the church, but also at home in their houses.

They taught them the hurt and danger of ignorance; that ignorance of the Scriptures hath been the cause of heresies, and that it hath brought in corruption of life and of manners. This was the order and usage of the church in the time of the holy apostles, and of our first fathers. The people were guided by the word of God; they were made partakers of the holy mysteries, and all things were done in the church to edifying. And the same order is this day restored and practised in our churches.

Let us look into the church of Rome, and behold the usage and behaviour thereof. Where shall we find that heavenly comeliness which St. Paul requires? Where is the comfortable reading of the Scriptures? Where are the people taught their salvation in Christ Jesus? Where is the brotherly meeting of all the congregation at the communion of the Lord's supper? May we say of Rome, that it holds fast the form and fashion of that church which Christ and his apostles left unto us, and which the holy ancient fathers continued? Nay, rather, we may say of them with Chrysostom, "They may have the chests and coffers wherein the treasures were sometimes kept, but the treasures they have not." We may say, It is not now a house of prayer, but a den of thieves: we may say, It shall no more be called Bethel, the house of God, but Bethaven, the house of vanity, or of lying.

Jupiter and Bacchus, and the idols of the heathen, were not so dishonoured of their worshippers, as the almighty and everlasting and only true God is dishonoured in that synagogue. I speak of Rome as it is now, and as it hath been these many years. For in the time of our elder fathers, it

had great testimony of true holiness. Ignatius called it "most chaste." Tertullian said, it was a happy church, because the apostles of Christ suffered martyrdom in it, and left their whole doctrine unto it.* And in like sort did others give unto Rome, as it was in those times, reverend and worthy commendation. But now saith he, O Rome, how much art thou changed from the old Rome! Thou which hast been the chief in all the world, art now the chief in all naughtiness. They have forsaken the manner of life, and the love of the gospel, which they of old time had in Rome, and therefore cannot be inheritors of their commendation.

When Chrysostom considered the state of the church, as the apostle speaks of it unto the Corinthians, and saw how far the church in his time swerved from that, he said, "We have now only the bare signs of those things." Again: "The church which is now, may be likened to a woman, which hath forsaken her wonted modesty, and hath only certain outward shows of that first felicity, and keepeth still the hutches and boxes of precious things, but lacketh the treasure which was in them. To such a woman may the church this day be likened. I speak not this of the gifts, for the matter were not so great, if we wanted them only, but of life and of virtue."

And again he saith: "I will tell you of one other box of that treasure, which our father left unto us, which is empty, and hath nothing left in it at this day. In times past they did sing all together, so do we also; but then they were all of one mind and of one heart; at this day you shall not find one man that agrees with himself, there is such war and discord in all things, every where. The name of peace is common in all places; but peace itself is no where to be found. Then men used their houses like churches, now men do use the church as they use their house, nay, more profanely than any house." Thus Chrysostom blamed the church in his time, and sets forth their departing from the faith. He lived about four hundred and eleven years after Christ.

What may we think he would say of the church that hath been of latter years, if he had lived to see the deformity and abuses thereof? Where, besides that they are not of one mind and of one heart, they suffer not the people all together to sing the praises of God; where they have not only

* Ignatius was martyred at Rome, A. D. 107. Tertullian lived at the commencement of the third century.

emptied such boxes or hutches, wherein Christ left great treasures unto his church, but have made light account of them, and have cast away the very patterns and images of true godliness. They drive away the people from reading the Scriptures, and reckon that as unlawful as to cast the bread of the children unto dogs, or pearls before swine.

They lead men from trust in the blood of Christ, and teach them to believe such things, and to put confidence in those creatures, which cannot profit or help them at all. You may remember what prayers they used, but bless your ears, for they are words full of horrible blasphemy. They said to the holy and blessed virgin Mary, the mother of our Redeemer and Saviour, "Our trust and hope we put in thee, O virgin Mary; defend us everlastingly." They say, "O happy mother, which dost purge us from our sins;" and, "The merits of holy Mary bring us to the heavenly kingdom." Again: "Thou art the mediator between God and man, the advocate for the poor, the refuge of all sinners." O merciful Christ what is become of thy passion! where is the price of thy blood! how are we led away from thee to seek redemption in a creature!

Again they say unto her: "Thou art the lady of angels, thou art the queen of heaven; command thy Son, show thyself to be a mother. He is thy Son, thou art his mother; the mother may command, the child must obey." Again; they turn all that is spoken in the whole book of the Psalms of the prophet David, either of God, or of Christ, and apply it to the virgin Mary, and call that psalter, the psalter of blessed Mary. Whoever will take the pains to peruse it, shall find that comfortable speech of our Saviour, Matt. xi. Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you, thus blasphemously abused in the second Psalm: "Come unto her all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and she will give rest and comfort to your souls."

Another saith, "The kingdom of God is of two parts, of justice and of mercy. He reserveth justice to himself, and the other part, that is, mercy, he hath yielded unto his mother." Therefore one of them plays the proctor, and takes upon him to show the difference of those two courts, saying, "You must appeal from the court of God's justice, to the court of his mother's mercy."* And is there not good cause he should give us this counsel, if it be true that he hath written? "No mercy cometh from heaven to the earth,

* Bernardinus in Mariali.

but it must pass by the hands of Mary; for she is the mediator of our salvation, of our justification, of our reconciliation, and of our participation."*

What is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy? They which will seem somewhat to blush at these things, will perhaps excuse this, and call it spiritual dalliance. Unhappy are they, and heavy judgment shall abide them, that in such sort dally, and scorn the price of our redemption. Oh! let us open our eyes: we are sons of God; God hath given us eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand. Let us judge uprightly; it is God's cause. Whosoever considers these, and such other great errors, must needs confess that the church of Rome hath wrought that departing whereof the apostle speaketh. In the late council of Trent, Cornelius, the bishop of Bitonto, somewhat plainly acknowledged the great apostacy and departing of the church of Rome, both in matters of faith, and in conversation and life. These are his words: "Would God they were not gone wholly with general consent from religion to superstition; from faith to infidelity; from Christ to antichrist; from God to Epicurus; saying, with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God; neither hath there been this great while any pastor or pope that regarded these things. For they all, both pope and cardinals, and others, sought their own, and not one of them sought for the things that pertain to Jesus Christ." Yet say they, there can be no departing from faith in the church of Rome; the faith thereof cannot fail; for Christ hath said, Luke xxii. I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. And again, Matt. xvi. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Therefore in that place there can be no decay. This is the saying of some, who humble not themselves to know their error, who love the praise of men more than the praise of God; whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things.

* Many similar expressions will be found in the office of the virgin, even as "reformed" by the popes *after* the council of Trent, and used at the present day. In the first office, (Paris, 1663, p. 21,) the form of absolution is, "Lord lead us to the kingdom of heaven for the prayers and merits of blessed Mary, always a virgin, and of all the saints." The benediction is, "May the virgin of virgins herself intercede with the Lord for us." In the rosary of the blessed virgin, recently printed at Dublin, (p. 230,) the following is part of a prayer to her, "Obtain for us by *thy* intercession that our hearts may be so visited by thy most holy Son, that being free from all sin, we may praise him and give him thanks for ever." Other prayers of the like description might be quoted.

The apostle saith, there shall be a departing; that it shall not be among the Jews and infidels, but among those which were reckoned to be of the household of faith, and the children of God. What is it from which they shall depart, or wherein the decay shall be? Does he mean their riches, their gold, and silver, and bread, &c.? No; but the doctrine of the gospel, and faith in Christ; the pure words, which as silver from the earth are tried, and purified seven times in the fire; the well of water, which springeth up into everlasting life, shall decay in the house of God. The people shall shut their ears, that they may not hear the truth, and shall give heed unto spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, which speak lies through hypocrisy. And let them not say, The church of Rome cannot err. For where did Christ ever give, or where have the apostles ever made mention of any such privilege granted to that church?

St. Peter saith, There were false prophets also among the people; even as there shall be false teachers among you, which privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath bought them, and bring upon themselves swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, 2 Pet. ii. Paul warned the church of God at Ephesus, not only that, after his departing, grievous wolves should enter in among them, but of themselves should men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them, Acts xx.

When Christ said, Luke xviii. When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith upon the earth? and when he told his disciples that the abomination of desolation should stand in the holy place; when he warned them in this sort, Matt. xxiv. Then if any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; so that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived—it is most evident, he spake of that departing which should come, and should appear in the church of God; which departing our forefathers did behold, and mark in their times, and which hath of late years appeared so manifestly, that no man, who is not wilfully blind, can doubt thereof.

St. Paul knew not any such state of the church of Rome, nor any especial grant made unto it, in such sort, that it should never err. For unto the church of Rome he writeth,

Boast not thyself; be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee; through unbelief they are broken off, and thou standest by faith. Behold therefore the bountifulness and severity of God: towards them which have fallen, severity; but towards thee, bountifulness, if thou continue in his bountifulness, or else thou shalt also be cut off, Rom. xi.

That is, if he spared not the Jews, his own people, how will he spare thee who art but a stranger? If thou continue not, thou shalt be cut off; it may be thou shalt also depart from the faith, as the Jews have done; then shalt thou be as a withered branch, and shalt not draw any moisture from the root; then will God also forsake thee, and the end shall be worse than the beginning. In saying thus, he said not, Thou shalt not err.

If the church of Rome cannot err, what need have they who are of that church, either of the Scriptures, or of the fathers, or of councils? Perhaps through this pride they grew first to despise the Holy Scriptures, and would not direct their ways by them; they are high-minded, and boast themselves, that they are as mount Sion, which shall not be moved.

Yet our Saviour likeneth the church sometimes to sheep, as in the fifteenth of St. Matthew: I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of Israel; sometimes to children, which are simple, and soon beguiled; sometimes to a vine, which is weak, and easily thrown down; sometimes to the moon, which waxeth, and is also in wane, and many times gives no light.

The ancient fathers compare the church of God to no one thing so commonly, as to a ship; and who knows not how a ship is tossed hither and thither? how it is in danger of sands, and of rocks, and of pirates, and in danger of drowning by leaking? If the sheep were not a straying kind of cattle, why should they need a shepherd? If little children could guide themselves, what need had they of a guide? If the vine did not hang down, and lie on the ground, what need were there of props, or of one to set it up? If there were no fear for the passage of a ship; if it could not miscarry, what should it need a pilot?

Let no man therefore say, The church is safe for ever, it cannot err, it cannot decay. Such words are deceivable and lying words; for false prophets shall come; there shall be a desolation; there shall be a departing, even in the house

of God, and that day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first; and that *the man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition.*

Verse 4. *Which is an adversary, and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.*

Thus the apostle speaketh of antichrist: he is the man of sin, and the son of perdition. It will be somewhat hard to treat of this matter, and to open the words of this Scripture. Whatsoever I shall speak, it will be ill taken of many, and many will doubt of the truth of my speech; such affection they bear to him whom the apostle deciphers to be antichrist. Albeit whatsoever I utter in opening the apostle's words shall be such, as the Holy Scriptures and learned writings of the holy fathers have left unto us, and the church of God hath proved, and at this day doth prove to be true.

God promised, that Christ should come into the world, even the Shiloh, unto whom all the people should be gathered, and that he should be the hope of Israel, and deliver his people from their sins. God made promise of him to Adam, and to Abraham, David, &c. The Scriptures are full, and the prophets make frequent mention of this promise. Old men and young men, and all the people, waited for the fulfilling thereof, and said, Send him whom thou wilt send. And again: Ye heavens send the dew from above, and let the clouds drop down righteousness; let the earth open, and let salvation and justice grow forth, Isa. xlv. And again: God will come and save you, Isa. xxxv.

Thus was every eye bent upon him, and every heart waited for his coming. But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son made of a woman, that we might receive the adoption of the sons. He was in the world, and the world knew him not: he came unto his own, and his own received him not. Light came into the world, and men loved darkness better than light, Gal. iv. John i. iii. They to whom the promise was made, and who wished for him, and made all their common talk of the hope of his coming, when he came knew him not; they reviled him, and said, Behold a glutton, and drinker of wine, a friend unto publicans and sinners, Matt. xi. They called him Beelzebub, and a false prophet, and a seducer of the people. Him they did take by the hands of the wicked; they

betrayed him, they denied the Holy One and Just; they hanged on a tree, and killed the Lord of life!

Such was the receiving of Christ! This did they to him through ignorance. It was not given them to know the secret of the kingdom of heaven; they have not known the Father, nor whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ; therefore, saith he, I confess unto thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and learned, and hast revealed them to babes; even so, Father, because it so pleased thee, Luke x.

Now as the coming of Christ was, such is the coming of antichrist. God hath foretold of his coming. Daniel hath foretold, Christ and his apostles, Paul and John, have foretold it. The Scriptures and old fathers make often mention hereof. There is none, either old or young, either learned or unlearned, but he hath heard of antichrist; they hate his name, and detest him before they know him.

But here you may mark the wonderful sleight and subtlety of Satan; the world shall look after the coming of antichrist; he shall not fail, but come: all men shall carry hatred against him, and reckon him abominable, and yet their eyes shall be blinded, and their hearts deceived, so that they shall not know him: they shall hate his name, and embrace his doctrine; he shall cover himself with a cloak of holiness: they shall think they do good service unto Christ, but shall therein do service unto antichrist.

The divers fantasies of men have devised many fond tales of the person of antichrist: some say he should be a Jew, of the tribe of Dan; some, that he should be born in Babylon; some, that he should be bred up in Bethsaida and Corazin; some, that he should rise up in Syria; some, that Mahomet is antichrist; some, that he should overflow Rome; some, that he should build up the city of Jerusalem; some, that Nero was antichrist; some, that he should be born of a friar and a nun; some, that he should continue but three years and a half; some, that he should turn trees upside down, with the tops in the ground, and should force the roots to grow upwards, and then should flee up into heaven, and fall down and break his neck!

These tales have been craftily devised to beguile our eyes, that whilst we think upon these guesses, and so occupy ourselves in beholding a shadow, or probable conjecture of antichrist, he which is antichrist indeed, may unawares deceive us.

Except that man of sin be disclosed. The apostle seems to teach us of antichrist, as if he should be one man, because he calls him *The man of sin;* but we may not so take him. The manner of the Scripture is, oftentimes, and in divers places, that it speaks that of many, which seems to be spoken but of one. So Daniel sets forth the kingdom, and all the kings of Persia, in the name and likeness of a bear, and so describes the state of other whole kingdoms in such particular names. And so doth the Spirit of God, in the Revelation, set down under the name of the beast, the succession and continuance of many; he means not that antichrist shall be any one man only, but one estate or kingdom of men, a continuance of some one power and tyranny in the church.

We read of Pharaoh, a cruel tyrant, that he persecuted the people of God in Egypt; and of Nebuchadnezzar, that he oppressed them, and brought them captives into Babylon; and of Antiochus, that he likewise fought against them, and overcame them, and led them captives into Macedonia. They all were mighty and cruel tyrants; yet one other shall come, whose cruelty shall be heavier, and whose continuance shall be longer, than was the cruelty or continuance of any of those; who shall work his purpose, not in Egypt, nor in Babylon, nor in Macedonia, but in the holy place, even in the church of Christ, and in the house of God. And this state and continuance of persecution in the church is the state of antichrist.

But what shall he do whereby he may be known? Paul saith, *Which is an adversary.* This shall be the mark whereby you may know him; he shall set himself against God, and against Christ, for he is an enemy of the cross of Christ. Why then, say you, are not the Jews, and Mahomet, and the Turk, either all, or the most wicked of them, so called, seeing they utterly refuse all Christian religion? Because none of these sit in the temple of God, which is the place where antichrist shall advance himself; and because antichrist shall not in open show set himself against Christ, as doth Mahomet, and the Turk, but subtlely and craftily, like an evil and ungracious servant. He will not openly speak his blasphemies, or spit at the gospel of God, or defy the name of Christ; but he will call himself "the servant of God;" perhaps, "the vicar of Christ;" and perhaps, "the servant of God's servants;" or perhaps, "the head, or the chief member of the church."* He shall

* Titles assumed by the popes.

say he is led with the zeal of God's house, and shall do nothing less; for he shall seek himself; he shall say, he seeks the glory of God, when all that he doth is for the enriching and ambitious enlarging of his own worldly pomp and vanity.

In matters of princes, if any man take upon him the name of an ambassador, or deputy to a prince, having no commission thereto, and in this boldness presume to levy and raise a power, and force the subjects to follow him, although he work all this under the name, and by the colour of the prince's authority, as is the manner of rebels to do, yet he is a traitor, and his doings are not well thought of because he deals in the prince's matters without warrant from the prince.

Even so antichrist; he shall come in the name of Christ, yet will he do all things against Christ, and under pretence and colour of serving Christ; he shall devour the sheep and people of Christ; he shall deface whatsoever Christ hath taught; he shall quench that fire which Christ hath kindled; those plants which Christ hath planted he shall root up; he shall undermine that house which Christ hath built; he shall be contrary to Christ; his faith contrary to the faith of Christ, and his life contrary to the life of Christ. Is any man desirous to know antichrist? His coming shall be notable; it shall astonish the world. By this mark you may know him; he shall be contrary to Christ. To show you at large this contrariety, by comparison of things contrary in Christ and antichrist, would ask long time. It shall be sufficient that we consider only some few wherein they are manifestly contrary, that by them judgment may be made of the residue.

St. Paul saith, Heb. x. With one offering hath he consecrated for ever them that are sanctified. And again: We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made. What is he then that saith, I make priests to offer a daily sacrifice for the sins of the people, by whom the offering up of the body of Christ is made every day? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist.

St. Paul saith, Eph. i. God hath appointed Christ over all things, to be the Head of the church. What is he then, which saith, I am the head of the church? which saith, All the churches of God are knit in me; you must understand as I understand; you must hear with mine ears, and see with mine eyes; I will govern and direct you? He is contrary to Christ; this is antichrist.

Christ ordained that the communion should be ministered under both kinds, Matt. xxvi.—What is he, then, that delivers it to the people but under one kind? He is contrary to Christ: he breaks the first institution of the Lord's supper; he is antichrist.

Christ saith, John xviii. My kingdom is not of this world.—What is he then, which saith, I am lord of lords, and king of kings: I have right to both swords; my power and authority reacheth over all the kingdoms of the world? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ washed his disciples' feet, John xiii.—What is he then, that gives his feet to be kissed of kings and emperors? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ paid tribute to Cæsar, Matt. xvii.—What is he then, that exempts himself and his clergy from the temporal sword and authority? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist.

Christ allowed marriage, and reproved fornication.—What is he then that allows fornication, and forbids marriage? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ saith, John v. Search the Scriptures.—What is he then which saith, Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast pearls before swine; ye may not search the Scriptures? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. These are the certain and undoubted marks of antichrist.

So that he doth sit in the temple of God. That is, he is bold and without force or constraint of any danger: he is not driven to hide himself in a corner; he is exalted in the eye and in the heart of the world. He bears rule in the conscience of men. He has the keys to open and shut at his pleasure. He makes kings and princes become his subjects; he rules them, not by sword or spear only, but by pretence of religion; he tells them, all things are put in subjection under his feet; that he is the vicar of Christ; that his word must be taken as the word of God. So, he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were God.

The godly preachers sit also in the temple of God; they are the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God. There they expound the Scriptures, and show the good and acceptable will of God. There they exhort, and teach, and reprove, and correct, and instruct the people in righteousness. Antichrist sits not in the church after this sort: he teaches not, nor exhorts the people. He makes that no part of his office. How sits he then? What shall he say? What shall he do?

The apostle tells us: *He exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped.* He shall be honoured with the honour that is due unto God; he shall shine and glitter in gold and precious stones; he shall be carried upon the shoulders of men, and waited upon by kings and princes, and great estates; so shall he be contrary to Christ.

Christ was humble and lowly. The prophet in his own person speaks of him, Psal. xxii. I am a worm, and not a man; a shame of men; and the contempt of the people. And the apostle saith, Phil. ii. He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross. Behold his parents, his birth, his cradle; behold his life, his disciples, his doctrine, and his death; all were witnesses unto his humility. He saith of himself, Matt. viii. The Son of man hath not whereon to rest his head: and to his disciples he saith, Luke xxii. The kings of the gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords; but you shall not be so. And again, Matt. xi. Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

Now on the other part, take view of antichrist: behold his birth, his place, his chair, his estate, his doctrine, his disciples, and all his life; you shall see nothing but pomp and glory, Gregory calls him the king of pride. He is proud in life, proud in doctrine, proud in word, and proud in deeds: he is like Lucifer, and sets himself before his brethren, and over nations and kingdoms.

He makes every knee to bow down to him and worship him; he makes kings to bring him water, to carry his train, to hold his cup, to bear his dish, to lead his bridle, and to hold his stirrup; he claims power over heaven and earth; he saith he is lord over all the world, the lord of lords, and the king of kings; that his authority reaches up into heaven, and down into hell; that he can command the angels of God; that he condemns whom he will condemn; that he makes saints at his pleasure; that, whatsoever he blesses, is blessed; and that whatsover he curses, is cursed.

He sells merits, the forgiveness of sins, the sacrifice for the quick and the dead: he makes merchandise of the souls of men; he lays his filthy hands upon the Lord's anointed; he removes kings, and deposes the states and princes of the world: this is antichrist; this is his power. Thus shall he work and make himself manifest. So shall he sit in the

temple of God. The people shall wonder at him, and shall have him in reverence; they shall say, who is like unto the beast? who is so wise, so mighty, so godly, so virtuous, so holy, so like unto God? So intolerable and monstrous shall be his pride.

It were much for him to sit in the seat, and to occupy the room of an earthly king or emperor; but he shall take upon him the authority and the name of God; the name of the living Lord; the name of God which hath made heaven and earth; even the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! And in this pride, he shall exceed all others that have been wicked. The pharisees and the scribes were wicked, yet none of them did sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he was God. Arius, Nestorius, Montanus, Valentinus, were wicked heretics; yet they never took upon them the name of God.

What should I say of this blasphemy? Or in whom may we find the like? Mahomet was a Turk, and a false prophet, and a deceiver of the people; yet he took not upon him the name of God. This point and reach of ungodliness belongeth only to antichrist: he shall sit in the place of God in judgments; he shall show himself out of that place, as if he were God. Irenæus saith, Whereas he is but a servant, he will be worshipped as if he were God.

But some will say, antichrist shall be mortal, as other men, born of a mortal father and mother; he shall know that he shall die, and that he is but dust, and shall return again unto dust; that he cannot make himself, no, that he cannot make the least and vilest of all creatures. How then will he proclaim himself to be an immortal God? how will he call himself God, that made heaven and earth? or God which had no beginning, nor shall have any end? No; this is not the meaning of these words. He shall not so think of himself, nor so say.—I will tell you after what sort he shall sit in the temple of God, and how the world shall receive him, and reverence him as God.

He shall take to himself that supreme authority and prerogative, which appertaineth only to God by nature. Although he be but a man, yet in office he will be accounted as God. He shall compare his laws with the laws of God; he shall say, his word is the word of God. Whatsoever he saith, he shall say, it is the voice of the Spirit of God, of the same authority, that is, the gospel of Christ. No man may break it, no man may touch the credit thereof; if any

man withstand it, he must think he doth sacrilege, committeth blasphemy, and sinneth against the Holy Ghost. Again; he shall break the laws of God to uphold his own, and shall pull down God to set up himself.

Such shall be the power and authority of antichrist; so shall he possess the consciences of the people; so shall he sit as an idol in their hearts; so shall he stand in the place of God, and show himself that he is God. The people shall receive his doctrine, and believe his word; they shall fall down before him, and worship him; they shall say, Who is like unto the beast? Rev. xiii. What creature is so beautiful as he? They shall honour him as God.

But what is he who has suffered himself to be so called? who is he that has been called by the name of God? Of all the creatures which have professed the faith of Christ, of all the kings, or bishops, or priests, or lay people, that ever were in the church of God, who ever required to be called by the holy name of God? or who ever liked well of them which so called him? who has been so wicked? who has ever so much forgotten himself? in what place has he dwelt; or what has he been?

Here methinks I see the secret motions of your heart. You look that I should name THE BISHOP OF ROME, that it is he who hath suffered himself to be called by the name of God. I will not tell you in mine own words. Unless the bishop himself so speak, I will not tell you. Mark then, and witness of my indifferency,* whilst I speak hereof; that I follow not affection, but deal uprightly. Therefore I say again, unless the bishop himself suffer himself to be called by the name of God, I will not say of him so.

Then let us see what he has written of himself, and what he has suffered others to write. Pope Nicholas saith, (Dist. 96.) It is well known, that the pope was called God by the godly prince Constantine. And therefore pope Pius, in his bull, saith, No man dare obey her, (queen Elizabeth,) or her will, or commandments, or laws, upon pain of our curse.†

The pope was well content to suffer Christopher Marcellus, one of his parasites in the council of Lateran,‡ to say

* Impartiality.

† "We do command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others as aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her or her monitions, mandates, and laws. And those who shall act otherwise, we bind with the same sentence of anathema." *Pope Pius V. bull of condemnation of Elizabeth, queen of England*, § 5.

‡ Concil. Later. sess. 4.

unto him, "Thou art another God in earth." The pope is content so to have a division of tenures made between him and God, as the poet Virgil some time flatteringly wrote: "The emperor divides his rule, and holds half with Jupiter." In the Extravagants it is set down, "Our Lord God the pope."* Mark these words; Our Lord God the pope. In them the pope is called Lord, and is called God. Oh! merciful Lord God, who from the heavens beholdest this vanity, how great is thy mercy in suffering this?

I devise not this; his own books, his own doctors, his own decrees and decretals, speak it, and set it down. "To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy;"† it is so written there, he has heard it, he has seen it, he knows it is so, yet he suffers it to go abroad, and thereby suffers himself to be called God. He has burnt many saints of God and holy men, for no other cause, but for the profession of the gospel. He has in many places burnt the Holy Bible, and such books as teach nothing but godliness. Where did he ever burn—what speak I of burning? where may it appear that ever he controlled any for so writing, or called in such speeches?

One of them seems to take shame of this shameless and blasphemous style or title. He seeks friendly to temper and qualify, and take up the matter; "Thou art neither God nor man; in a manner thou art neither of both; but rather a mean between both;"‡ that is, thou art not so high as God, nor yet so base as man. Whom then shall we imagine him to be? Is he an archangel, or angel, or a spirit of the air?

God give him grace to see his own vanity, that he may know he is but a miserable and mortal man; that he may know that a time shall come when his hypocrisy and dissimulation shall be disclosed. God give him grace to become godly, as becometh the man of God; that he may indeed be the minister of Christ, and a disposer of the secrets of God; that he may serve God in truth, in holiness, and righteousness all the days of his life.

But you say, the pope at this day is not called God; he rather abases himself, and writes himself by a title of humility, and is called, The servant of servants. Be it so, that

* Extrav. Johan xxii. The extravagants were decretals of the popes, added by them to the canon law, so called because they were not arranged in the body of the law.

† Ibid.

‡ Clement. in proœmio in glossa.

he is so called, and so written. Yet he is king of kings, and lord of lords. This servant saith, I do make holy the unholy; I do justify the wicked; I do forgive sins; I open, and no man shutteth.—This servant can say, Whosoever obeyeth not me, he shall be rooted out.—This servant may dispense with any commandment of the Old and New Testament.—"This servant has Christ's lieutenantship, not only over things in heaven, over things in earth, and over things in hell, but also over the angels, both good and bad." No man may judge this servant; for they say, "The pope is exempted from all law of man." And again: "Neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world, may either judge or depose the pope." Such a power this servant of servants claims to himself. What greater power may be given to God? what angel, what archangel, ever had the like power?

And this power even at this day pope Pius challenges as proper to his seat; that he has the authority which is due to Christ over his church; that no man may judge him, nor say he doth err, nor ask why he doth so.* He is invested in the privilege of his church, and loses no one jot of his dignity. It is yet good at this day, which hath been set down, "It is sin, as great as sacrilege or church-robbing, to reason of any of the pope's doings." (Dist. 40.) These are their own words, God knows, before whom we stand this day, they are their own words, and not mine. Thus does he *sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.*†

And therefore may we say, as Eusebius said, "This is an evident token that they hate God, because they will have themselves called by the name of God:" or as Gregory, who, speaking of antichrist, said, "Whereas he is a cursed man, and not a spirit; he feigns himself by lying to be a God."

Verse 5. *Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?*

Before I departed from you to go further to plant the gospel in other churches, I told you that antichrist should come, and that he should oppress and confound the church

* Pope Pius arrogated this power to himself in his bull against queen Elizabeth. Paul IV., who was pope a few years earlier, expressed himself still more strongly, saying, "The Roman pontiff who governs in earth as the vicar, and in place of (vices geret) God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and obtains fulness of power over nations and kingdoms, and is judge of all, and not to be judged by any one in the world." See, Bullarii Rom. 1638. Bulla 19, Paul iv..

† Bellarmine states, that the whole sum of Christianity is concerned in the doctrine of the pope's supremacy.

of Christ. Paul was chosen to be an apostle. The office of an apostle was not to rest in any one certain place, but to pass from country to country, from land to land, and to fill all the world with knowledge of the gospel; and therein appears the difference between an apostle and a bishop; a bishop had the charge of one certain church, an apostle had the charge over all the churches.

But Paul was not tied to any one city, or island, or country. He had authority to preach to all cities and countries, to all lands and islands from the east to the west. So did Christ appoint his apostles, Mark xvi. Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature. They were not sent to Jerusalem, nor to Samaria, nor to Ephesus, nor to Rome only, but into all the world. The whole world was their diocese, and their province.

So spake the prophet David of them, Psalm xix. Their sound is gone forth through the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. This was the commission which our Saviour gave unto John, and to James, to Paul, and to Peter, and to the rest of the apostles, that they should go into all the world; therefore if any of the apostles should have stayed in one only place, and have gone no further, he had offended, and done otherwise than Christ commanded.

Here we see how foully they are deceived, who say, Peter was bishop of Rome, and did sit there five-and-twenty years. They that say so, know not what they say. It is an error: Christ made Peter an apostle, and not to sit as a bishop at Rome. He said unto Peter, Go into all the world; thou shalt be a witness unto me, unto the utmost coasts of the earth. I send thee unto all the churches, and not to one alone. The like charge received Paul; he travelled from Damascus to Arabia; from Arabia to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Illyricum; from Illyricum to Rome, and so from country to country, and from coast to coast, to make a pleasant perfume of the gospel of God in all the world, that it might be unto them a savour of life unto life.

Therefore saith he to the Thessalonians, Ye remember, that, when I was with you, I told you these things. The Spirit of God warned me to go further. Other churches required my presence. I was debtor unto them as unto you; yet before I left you, I told you what dangers should ensue. It was mine office, I was bound so to do, lest you might be deceived; I told you antichrist should come, even that man of sin, the son of perdition, which should destroy

himself and others also. I told you he should be an adversary of the gospel of Christ; that he should advance himself over all the kings and powers of the world; that he should sit as God in the holy place; that the people should give him place to sit in their hearts and in their consciences.

This warning the apostle gave to the Thessalonians. The like warning he gave to other churches where he taught the gospel; and the same is also spoken unto us. They knew by his teaching that antichrist should come. We know by the marks which he has given to know antichrist, that he is already come; and that the very same is come which the apostle describes; that he is grown unto his fulness, and has stalled himself in the place of God.

Verse 6. *And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time.*

Paul seems not in these words to say, what hinders the coming of antichrist; but what shall stay the coming of Christ; for thus he enters upon this matter, I beseech you by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not troubled as though the day of Christ, were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for the day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that antichrist be disclosed. Even so here he saith, Ye know what withholdeth Christ, and why he cometh not. Even this, that antichrist might first be revealed in his time. His time is appointed; the spring cometh not, until the winter have gone before; the night goeth before, and then the day cometh. And so shall not the glorious majesty of Christ's coming appear, before the dreadful and dangerous days of antichrist shall come. There shall be no delivery, unless bondage go before.

Antichrist shall bring the world into bondage; he shall do violence to the saints of God; he shall be as a continual storm and darkness in the church. The godly shall look up to heaven, and call for aid; they shall cry unto the Lord, and he will hear them; they shall say, O come, Lord Jesus, thy kingdom come, confound thine enemies. Then will he not stay; he will appear, and show himself in glory. In the mean while this is the cause of his stay: this hinders his coming; antichrist must first come. This I take to be the apostle's meaning; it agrees with the beginning; it is simple, clear, and plain, and without danger of error.

Antichrist shall appear, not when he will, but he shall be

revealed in his time. His time is the time of darkness, when shepherds and the guides of the people shall be careless; when the word shall be loathed; when the light shall be put out; when superstition shall reign; when ignorance shall have the upper hand; when the creature shall not be known from the Creator; when there shall be no fear of God, no regard of godliness; when the people shall not know wherefore they pray, nor whom they worship, nor in whom they believe; then shall it appear that antichrist is come; then he shall show himself; this is his time.

Verse 7. *For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he which now letteth, shall let till he be taken out of the way.*

The mystery of iniquity doth already work. Let us not be deceived. Antichrist shall certainly come and shall draw many into error. As it was with Christ at his coming; he was in the world, he did the works of his Father, yet few knew him: so shall it be with antichrist; he shall be in the world, he shall work his iniquity, and few shall know him.

Paul lived more than fifteen hundred years past; yet then he said, The mystery of iniquity doth already work. The devil is not idle, saith he; antichrist even now worketh, when the blood of Christ was fresh; when as yet the apostles, and many other witnesses of our redemption by Christ, were living. And St. John saith, 1 John ii. Even now are there many antichrists come already. So soon was his foundation cast, his plot laid, his way prepared, and his work begun.

So long since did Paul see some who delighted in the works of darkness, who were the enemies of the cross of Christ, who served their belly, and not the Lord; even then did he see, that grievous wolves, not sparing the flock, should enter in among them. All these were the forerunners and the harbingers of antichrist.

We may not think that antichrist shall come as a robber by the highways, or like a murderer, or like a tyrant, that burns our houses, or sacks our cities, or destroys our fields, or pulls down all that is before him; we may not look that he should say, I am antichrist, I am that man of sin, I am the son of perdition, I am the adversary, and I am contrary to Christ. He shall not show forth himself in any such a sort; he shall not so speak of himself; he is subtle and cun-

ning; he shall deceive the learned and the wise; he shall cast himself into a colour of holiness, he shall fast, he shall pray, he shall give alms, and show mercy; he shall walk as if he were a disciple of Christ; he shall counterfeit an angel of light; he shall go before, and the world shall follow him; so shall the mystery of iniquity work; his life, his religion, his doctrine, shall be close, and hid, and secret.

Antichrist worketh in mystery. Jerome says, "The whole world mourned, and did marvel that they were possessed with the error of Arius;" that they denied the divinity of Christ before they were aware. This was a mystery. So shall the learned and wise be deceived; they shall honour antichrist unawares; they shall say, We defy him, and detest him; and yet shall fall down and worship him. This is a mystery; so secret shall his dealing be, it shall not be known to many. He shall walk in craftiness, and handle the word of God deceitfully; he shall mingle his lies with the truth of God; he shall mingle his poison with the wholesome food of our souls, so closely and subtlely, that it shall hardly be espied; he shall go forward by little and little, and so win credit, and convey himself into the hearts of the people. This is a mystery. Christ saith, Matt. xiii. A man sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, there came his foe, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way, They grew together, and had both one like colour. The householder willed them to let both grow together till harvest come, lest with the tares they pluck up the wheat also. So shall be the coming of antichrist; he shall come while men sleep, in the night of blindness, and of negligence, and of ignorance, and shall sow his tares with the Lord's wheat. They shall both grow up together. The day of the Lord shall reveal them, and set each part by itself. This is a mystery; and as it is secret, so it is long in working. This mystery began in the days of the apostles, and continues on still unto our time; it is still in work.

But who are they that follow his lore; who yield themselves to him, and who shall be deceived? Are they poor men, or artificers, or labourers? or are they unlearned and ignorant men? No, no; he shall deceive priests, bishops, archbishops, princes, kings, emperors, the gravest, the most learned, the wisest, the mightiest men in the world. He shall blind their eyes, and amaze their hearts; they shall run to him out of all parts of the earth; they shall fall down before him; they shall ask counsel of him; they shall say,

Thou art the doctor of doctors, thou art the father of fathers, thou art the comfort of the church, thou art the light of the world, thou art most holy; all law and all knowledge is hid in thy breast; we beseech thy holiness show us thy way, expound thou the law unto us, teach us how we may be saved; thou hast the key of knowledge; thy word is the word of truth. So shall they creep to antichrist, so shall they pour out their souls before him, so shall they seek counsel at his mouth, so shall they fetch light at the prince of darkness.

This mystery, saith St. Paul, doth already work; it shall increase, and go forward, and grow to perfection. A thorn, when it is young, is soft and gentle, you may thrust at it with your finger, it will not hurt you; but after it waxes and grows hard and stubborn, it will pierce the flesh, and draw blood. A bear, when he is young, is harmless and innocent; you may dandle it, and play with it, as with a whelp; it hath no chambers to gripe, no teeth to bite, nor paws to tear; but afterwards it will grow, and become fierce and cruel like the sire. A serpent, when it is young, is little and pretty; it has no sting nor poison; you may take it in your hand, and lay it in your lap, it will not hurt you; afterwards it will increase in venom, and grow in mischief, and be like itself; then it will shake the sting, and cast poison, and prove dangerous.

Such a thorn, such a bear, such a serpent is antichrist. At the first he shall seem soft and gentle, and pretty and innocent: after, he shall grow fierce and arm himself with sting and poison. But a thorn, though it be soft, is a thorn; a bear, though he be little, is a bear; a serpent, though he be pretty, is a serpent. Even so antichrist, though he seem gentle, mild, and simple, yet is he antichrist. He grows by degrees; he will be like his sire; his paws will be dreadful; his mouth will be deadly. He will shake the earth like an earthquake.... Such shall be the mystery and coming of antichrist. He shall show forth himself at the first, with countenance of devotion and holiness, that he may closely and privily, and secretly wreathe in himself. Few shall be able to understand the mystery of his dealing, after he shall be opened, and appear as he is.

Who would think there were any evil in enforcing of virginity, chastity, or single life? He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord, that he may be holy, both in body and also in spirit.

Would to God it were so with all that have taken the profession of single life—but the colour is fair. Hence has it grown, that bishops and priests, and young men and maidens, have continued single. This seemed strange, and a miracle, and a matter of great holiness.

But this is a mystery; this is a way to bring in antichrist. Mark what St. Paul speaks hereof, 1 Tim. iv. They shall forbid to marry. Of whom speaks he? of antichrist and his disciples; they shall forbid lawful marriage as unholy, and as a state of life unfit for their holiness. Yet Christ Jesus, the Son of God, never forbade it; his apostles were married, and had wives.

This, saith St. Paul, is a mark of antichrist, by this shall he be known. Forbidding of marriage, is a doctrine of devils; not of Christ, nor of God, but of devils. It is a gulf, it is a sea, it is a world, it is a hell of iniquity, and the vilest villany that ever crept into the church of God. Jerome, expounding the words of Daniel, chap. xi. He shall have no regard to the desire of women, saith, The better exposition hereof is, to apply these words to antichrist, for that he shall pretend chastity, that he may deceive many. This is the mystery of iniquity. This is the practice of antichrist: he shall come with a cloak of counterfeited chastity, not with true chastity, both in body and also in spirit; but with counterfeit chastity, and so shall deceive the hearts of many.

Who would think there were any evil in single communion? or why may not every body follow his own devotion, and receive the sacrament when he will? what harm is herein? It may seem to be done for the reverence unto the sacrament, lest it should grow in contempt if it were used often. These reasons are fair and fresh; but this is a mystery, and a practice of antichrist. For by this means have they shut out the faithful people of God, and made them negligent and careless for the receiving of the Lord's supper; they abused the church of the living God, they turned the remembrance of the death of Christ into a may-game; they made the people commit horrible and open idolatry, to worship the creature instead of the Creator, who is God, blessed for ever.

Who would think there were any evil in the keys of the church? They are the expounding of the law, and the disclosing of the will of God. They are the chief comfort of our conscience. But antichrist shall take these keys unto

himself, and shall build up his own kingdom with them. He shall shut that which God hath opened, and shall open that God hath shut; this is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were any evil in godly prayers of the church; Christ saith, Matt. xxiv. Watch and pray for you know not in what hour your Master will come. And again, Matt. vi. Pray thou to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth thee in secret shall reward thee openly. And again: Matt. vii. Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. St. Paul saith, 1 Thess. v. Pray without ceasing. David saith, Ps. cxlv. The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him faithfully. For the Lord will hear the prayers of his saints, and deliver him when they call upon him. These prayers shall antichrist take to work his iniquity, and under pretence of them shall devour widows' houses; and shall make a net of them to fish and drag for all the riches of the world—this is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were so great evil in the doctrine of purgatory? What, if one thought that his father or friend died in some venial sin, and were chastised somewhile in purgatory fire, and that he might be relieved by prayers; for this pretence and imagination have they thereof: What, if one should so think, what hurt were it?—Brethren, this is the mystery of all mysteries, and the secret of all secrets. In this stands the countenance, and all the welfare of antichrist.

He has impropried* the whole kingdom of purgatory to himself, and has made it more gainful than heaven and earth. There he sells prayers; there he makes port sale of bulls and pardons; there he sells forgiveness of sins, from the punishment and from the blame. He sells the mercies of God, the blood of the martyrs, the works of supererogation, the merits of his fratries, the blood of Christ; there he sells paradise, deliverance or assurance from hell, and entrance into heaven; he makes merchandise of the souls of the people; this is the alone mystery, above all other mysteries.

Who would think there were an evil in the name of the church? it is the witness bearer unto the gospel: it is the pillar of truth; it is the spouse of Christ. Yet, saith Christ, antichrist shall come in my name; he shall seem holy; he shall talk of the gospel; he shall carry the face of the church, and deceive many. This is a mystery.

Who would think it a matter of so great inconvenience,

* Converted to his own use.

for a man to call the bishop of Rome, the greatest bishop, or the chiefest patriarch, and the highest judge, and to say that all appeals lie unto him? What hurt may this be? it seems a small matter, a matter of nothing. But it is a practice, it is a secret, and a mystery; hence flowed all the streams of vanity and presumption wherein he advances himself; hence it is that he saith, I am above kings and emperors; I am above general councils; I am above the whole church of Christ; I am above the angels of God; I have power to command and to countermand them at my pleasure; I am the successor of Peter; I am the vicar of Christ. No man may judge me, whatsoever I do; I cannot err; general councils might err, the apostles might err, the angels of God might err; but I cannot err. I have the fulness of power; the whole world is my diocese; whosoever is saved, is under me; whosoever is not under me is cursed of God. I am the light of the world; I can, in a manner, do whatsoever God can do.

All these speeches are written, are printed, are published, and proclaimed abroad. This is a mystery of iniquity; this is a deep secret. These are the very ways and steps of antichrist: God give us eyes to see them, and hearts that we may discern them.

Paul saw this mystery working, even in that time he lived. John saith, 3 John, Diotrephes loveth to have the pre-eminence; to lift up himself above his brethren, be the head of the church, and to bear a mastery. So Paul espied contentions in Corinth, 1 Cor. ii. Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ: these were the beginnings of antichrist. But Paul saith, 2 Cor. iv. We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants, for Jesus' sake. So the true disciples of Christ reckon not themselves any thing, but the members one of another, but the ministers by whom the people believe, but witnesses chosen before of God, but such as are commanded to preach, but God's labourers.

Now let us consider these marks of antichrist; was there ever any which hath forbidden lawful marriage, and accounted it a state of life which is unclean, and not meet for his holiness; and deceived the world with counterfeit chastity? the same is antichrist. For Jerome tells us antichrist shall pretend chastity, that he may deceive many; and Paul calls forbidding of marriages the doctrine of devils.

Was there ever any which hath shut forth the faithful from the holy communion, and hath made them careless for the receiving thereof? which hath defaced the sacrament, abused the church of God, and caused the people to give the honour of God unto a creature? This is the working of the mystery of iniquity; he is antichrist.

Was there ever any which took the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and wrought to himself therewith a principality, or kingdom, on earth? Was there ever any which hath shut them out from the kingdom of God, to whom God hath opened it, and hath set free the consciences of those sinners whom God hath not loosed? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which beguiled the people, which devoured widows' houses, under colour of long prayers, and has used them as a net to fish for the treasures and riches of all the world? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which sold bulls and pardons, and forgiveness of sins, and the mercies of God, and the merits of men, and the blood of the martyrs, and the passion of Christ the Son of God? Was there ever any that sold paradise and heaven, and made sale of the souls of the people, and all for money? The same is antichrist.

Was there ever any which came in the name of Christ, with the show of holiness, with the countenance of the church, and has showed himself in all his life and doctrine contrary to Christ? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which has said, I am above kings and emperors, and the states of the world; I am above councils, I am above the whole church of Christ, and above the angels of God. No man may judge me; I cannot err; whosoever shall be saved, must be under me; if any shall not obey me, they are cursed before God; God and I have one judgment-seat; we sit together; I can do whatsoever God can do?

He that thus saith is antichrist. The mystery of iniquity doth work already, saith the apostle. He shall not open himself. Whatsoever he doth, he doth it in secret; so shall he advance himself; so shall he speak great things, and blasphemies against the Highest; so shall he prevail and prosper; so shall he darken the heavens, and draw the third part of the stars after him; so shall he sit in the holy place, even in the seat of God: and all this shall he work under pretence of humility, and shall call himself the servant of servants.

Only he which now withholdeth, shall let till he be taken out of the way.

Now the emperor holdeth the whole power and authority over the world, but it shall be taken away from him, and then shall antichrist come, when all stops and lets shall be removed. Who is he that doth stop him, and let his coming? the emperor of Rome. So saith Tertullian, so Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom. Antichrist shall possess a great part of the Roman empire; yet so long as the emperor shall stand and prosper, he will not suffer any part of his empire to be abated. So long as the emperor shall be able to bear himself, antichrist shall never be able to grow.

But a time shall come when the empire of Rome shall be rent asunder; then the authority of the emperor shall decay, then antichrist shall gather strength, and shall place himself where the emperor was. A traitor cannot usurp the crown, so long as the right king is able to stand and maintain his state. Antichrist is a traitor, a traitor both to God and man. When the emperor shall fall and decay, then he shall rise up; when the emperor becomes weak, then he shall grow strong. Therefore Paul saith, Antichrist shall not come yet, for the emperor letteth him. The emperor shall be removed, and then shall antichrist come.*

But before I proceed to say more of this division of the empire, that we may come to the bottom of this matter, and so see the meaning of this prophecy evidently laid open before us, I will show more plainly and particularly of anti-

* The Rev. H. Townsend says, in a note upon this passage, "The man of sin began to be revealed as soon as the Roman emperors and the heathen magistrates lost their power. As soon as Constantine became a Christian, the power of heathen Rome was restrained, and the Christians ceased to be persecuted. Then it was that the man of sin gradually exalted himself, then it was that the worship of saints and angels was introduced, &c.—The obstacle that impeded the revealing of the man of sin is generally supposed by the ancient fathers to be the Roman empire. The cautious manner in which the apostle hints at it, avoiding even the mention of the restraining power in writing, although he had previously declared it to the Thessalonians, strengthens this suggestion. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that so much was this the general opinion of the primitive Christians, that they were accustomed to pray for the continuance of the Roman empire, being well convinced that the moment the Roman empire was dissolved, the man of sin would be revealed. That this part of the prophecy was not misunderstood is clear from the event; for in proportion as the power of the empire decreased, the power of the church increased, till at last the man of sin was fully revealed."—*New Testament arranged*, II. p. 265, &c.

christ, who he shall be. It is a hard and doubtful thing, as are all prophecies; but mark well what shall be spoken. I will speak nothing without good warrant and authority of the old writers and fathers. I will tell you the conditions of antichrist, and where he shall dwell; that known, it shall be no hard matter to know the rest.

Who shall he be then, or of what condition, that we may know him? Some have said, he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan; some, that Nero, the bloody tyrant, should rise again, and he should be antichrist; some, that he should be a mighty persecutor, who should rage and range over the whole world, raze towers and castles, set on fire the church and oratories, and kill whomsoever he meets. Hippolytus saith, he shall be begotten by the devil, and himself shall be a devil. These devices were imagined and written many hundred years since, as every body were best able to devise. But these are fables, and have no ground. To say the truth, antichrist shall neither be a Jew nor Nero, nor one begotten by the devil; he shall be a Christian, he shall be a bishop, and a holy father, and a bishop of great show and countenance in the world. Mark, he shall not be a king, nor an emperor, nor a tyrant, nor a temporal prince, but a bishop.

But how may this be known, that we may be certain of it? For you will charge my sayings with partiality, as if what should be spoken by me might proceed of displeasure and malice. Who then has so spoken or written, that we may believe him? Hear Gregory himself, a bishop of Rome, what he recorded of this matter well nigh a thousand years ago. "The king of pride, that is, antichrist, is even at hand, and an army of priests is prepared, which is a wicked or horrible thing to be spoken." Lo! both the king, which is antichrist, and his guard, to wait upon him, a company of priests and clerks, of monks and friars, to attend him. Upon whom shall an army of priests attend, but upon a bishop?

If you say this is no plain proof, but forced and wrested, because he names not a bishop, but a king of pride; hear him again. "I speak it boldly; whosoever either calls himself the universal priest, or desires so to be called (as the pope doth) in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of antichrist." In this place, he not only tells us, antichrist shall be a bishop, but also what manner of bishop. He shall be a bishop, and that bishop who shall claim universal authority; such a bishop as shall say, "It is necessary for salvation, that every soul be subject to me;" who shall say,

it is plain that the church is one, because in the universal church there is one supreme head, that is, the pope.

The Sibyl saith,* (cap. viii.) "This king shall have a white head, and shall be called by a name much like to Pontus;" in which two marks of his head and name, whom can we find but a bishop, who wears solemnly a white mitre of silver, and adorned with precious stones, and in Latin is named pontifex? Again, Joachimus Abbas† saith, "He shall exalt himself above all that is called God; for he only shall be called holy lord, and most holy pope."

So that, for our direction, we hear not only of a king of pride and his guard of priests, but we learn that this king shall have a white head, and a name much like Pontus, that is, shall be pontifex, a bishop. Gregory moreover said, He shall call himself, or desire to be called, a universal priest. And Joachim, an abbot, has told us, Antichrist shall be called holy lord, and most holy pope.

But where shall antichrist be resident? In what place shall we seek him? For if we look for him in one place, and he be in another, we shall not find him. Where then is he stalled? in what city? in what church? Some say in Babylon, some in Syria, some in Chaldea, some in Jerusalem upon mount Sion, some in one place, some in another. These are but guesses, and bear no weight. Paul tells us, he shall creep into the empire of Rome; so saith the apostle, and so the fathers. The empire shall be made waste, and then antichrist shall come, and invade the church. But the empire was great and wide; it reached over a great part of the world: it contained England, France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thracia, Greece, Asia (Minor,) Armenia, Egypt, Mauritania, and the rest of Africa. All these were parts of the empire of Rome. In what part, or in what city, or in what church of all these shall he sit? St. John saith, Rev. xvii. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. Where shall we

* The books called the Sibylline oracles appear certainly to have been collected before A. D. 140. Some one of the early Christians seems to have compiled them from old prophecies, histories, and passages of the Scriptures, perhaps inserting some ancient oracles. *See Cave, Hist. Lit.*

† The abbot Joachim was a native of Calabria. He lived in the twelfth century, and delivered many prophecies concerning the papacy. These were printed at Venice in 1589 with curious emblematical engravings. He wrote other works, printed in 1519.—See Dupin.

find such a city in the whole world? Is it Jerusalem, or Athens, or Constantinople, or Antioch? Where we find a city so built, that city is the place of antichrist. There is none but one. The Spirit of God cannot lie. But which is that one? All writers, as well old as new, call that city Rome. Rome is built upon seven hills; they yet remain. The names of the hills are known to be these: Palatine, Quirinal, Aventine, Cælian, Viminal, Esquiline, Janicular.

The poet, speaking of this city, saith, "And this one city has compassed into itself with a wall, seven high places." Therefore Plutarch calls it "of seven hills." They have used in Rome, in their general processions in gang-week,* to go to these seven hills, and to do some solemn piece of service at every one of them. Rome is the city of seven heads. Rome is the city built upon seven hills; therefore the city which John describes; and therefore it is the tabernacle and stall in which antichrist shall sit.

The Sibyl wrote "That the greatest terror and fury of his empire, and the greatest woe that he shall work, shall be by the banks of Tyber." And who is there that has heard of the situation of Rome, that does not know it is built on the banks of Tyber? Irenæus, who lived near fifteen hundred years ago, saith the name of antichrist expressed by that number shall be Latinus, that is, He shall sit in a city called Latium, that is, Rome. Joachimus Abbas saith, Antichrist is long since born in Rome, and yet shall be advanced higher in the apostolic see. Bernard saith, The beast that is spoken of in the book of Revelation, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the saints of God, is now got into Peter's chair, as a lion prepared to his prey. These words are clear as the sun-beams.

St. John saith, Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills: that city is the city of Rome. The Sibyl saith, His greatest work shall be by the banks of the Tyber: that city, so built, is the city of Rome. Irenæus saith, The name of antichrist shall be Latinus: this name belongs to the bishop of Rome. Bernard saith, The beast that is spoken of in the Revelation, is got into Peter's chair.—John lived 1560 years since, the Sibyl 2000, Irenæus about 1500, Joachimus Abbas 300.† Bernard lived about 400

* Rogation week. A trace of these processions is preserved in the custom of perambulating parishes, though now only to mark the boundaries.

† These dates are to be calculated from about A. D. 1570; the date attributed to the Sibyls is uncertain.

years since. And by the testimony of all these, antichrist shall be a bishop, and placed at Rome.

You marvel at this, how it should be possible that antichrist should sit in Peter's chair; you heard who hath said it, and no wonder at all; for he shall sit in the place of God, in the holy place, in the church of Christ.

So Augustine gathers upon the apostle's words; "For the temple of an idol, or of a devil, the apostle would never call the temple of God." And Jerome saith, "Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at Jerusalem, as some imagine, or in the church, as we more truly think, showing himself as if he were Christ, and the son of God." Again he saith, "Antichrist shall tread under his feet all approved and true religion." And Hilary saith, "Is there any doubt but antichrist shall sit in the same houses? He shall sit in those houses and buildings, with which you are in love, and which you honour." Again he saith, "He shall be contrary to Christ, under the colour of preaching the gospel; so that our Lord Jesus Christ shall then be denied, when a man would think he is preached." Thus we have seen who shall be antichrist, and in what church he shall be, that he shall be a bishop, and shall be stalled or placed in Rome.

Now to return again to the words of the apostle. *Only he who now letteth, shall let until he be taken away.* Now the emperor hath the rule over the world. Let him keep it. There shall a time come when he shall lose his possessions; then antichrist shall appear. When the empire shall be dismembered, and the kingdoms belonging to him shall depart from him, then shall be the coming of antichrist.

Who will look into the story of things in times past, shall perceive the meaning of the apostle, and how the empire of Rome, being so great, is consumed and brought to nothing, and in what sort antichrist, who was once so poor and simple, so little regarded and obscure, might grow to be so great, and advance himself above kings and princes. The impoverishing of the one was the enriching of the other.

I told you, that the empire of Rome contained sometime a great part of the world, as England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. Where is England now? It is divided from, and is no part of the empire. Where is France, Spain, Italy, Illyricum? where is Rome itself? They are taken away from it, and are now no part of the empire. Where is Macedonia, Thracia, Greece, Asia (Minor,) Armenia, &c.? We cannot think of them but with heaviness. They now are under the Turk, they are taken away, and are no part of the empire.

What is become of the great countenance which the emperor had in all the world? He is now in comparison nobody. What part of all the empire is left unto him? Not one: he hath not left him one city or town. What is become of all which did belong to him? They are dissolved, taken from him, and his estate is brought to nothing.

In the mean while antichrist increased, and grew to wealth by spoil of the empire. The bishop of Rome has at this day many countries and lordships. Poor Peter had none; how then came he by them? By the spoil of the empire. He has the title of Forum Julium;* whence has he it, but of the spoil of the empire? Whence has he so many countries beginning at Lucca and onward to the Alps, but by the spoil of the empire? He has Ravenna, Forum Sempronii, Beneventum, and Spoletum. All these he has by the spoil of the empire.

He claims the kingdom of Naples and of Sicily; he is the lord paramount; king Philip is his vassal, and pays him tribute; he has Rome itself; it did belong unto the emperor; how grew it to the bishop? whence has he it? By the spoil of the empire.

We see, then, that the emperor is abated; that the bishop is increased; and so increased, that he hath made the emperor to be his man; to bear his train; to wait upon him; to kneel down, and to kiss his foot.

This could he never bring to pass whilst the empire stood whole, and the emperor was able to make his part good. But these things were done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken, Rev. xvii. The kings of the earth shall give their strength and power to the beast, &c. That they may agree together, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God be fulfilled.

Who that beast shall be, Augustine, writing upon the Psalms, very well declares; "Thus it is written of antichrist; that he shall conquer all kings, and obtain the kingdom himself alone:" and who it is unto whom the kings of the earth have given their kingdom, and which obtains the kingdom himself alone; if any man doubt, let him be advised by this saying of those who knew it well, and were not enemies to the bishopric of Rome.

Johan de Parisiis saith, "Some think that by reason of this donation of Constantine, the pope is the emperor and the lord of the world; and that hereby he has power both

* A country of Italy, part of the papal states.

to set up, and also to pull down kings as an emperor." And if this be too little, to say thus, upon hearsay, the same saith further plainly, "All manner of temporal power was given immediately unto the pope." What other thing is it that pope Innocent saith? "The emperor holds his empire of the pope, and therefore he is bound to swear homage and fealty to the pope, as the vassal is bound to his lord."

In this right pope Adrian said, "Behold, it is in our hand to bestow the empire upon whom we list." Were not the state of the empire now decayed, were not the prophecy of the apostle now fulfilled, were not the emperor, howsoever he have in a mystery a bare name left, taken away, as well in respect of the countries which he held, as of the authority, the rule and power which he had over the world, these proud speeches could never have been suffered.

Now then, seeing the empire is so decayed and abased, and the bishop of Rome so highly advanced into his seat and authority, so highly I say, that some are bold to say, "The pope hath the princehood of all the whole world," and, "The pope is king of kings, and lord of lords;" let Gregory, who has elsewhere given great light to this prophecy, show us hereby also to know who is antichrist: he saith, "Antichrist, when he shall come, shall conquer the highest estates and powers of this world."

This whole matter also is expressed in the seventh of Daniel: The fourth beast was fearful and terrible, and very strong; it had great iron teeth, it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under his feet; and it was unlike the beasts that were before it; for it had ten horns. And behold, there came up among them another little horn, which had eyes like a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things. This beast is the empire of Rome, the greatest empire that ever was. It was divided into ten, or into sundry kingdoms, as I showed you, and as we see this day. The little horn is antichrist.

The empire shall be divided and weakened, then antichrist shall come; he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand. Daniel saith, He shall speak words against the Most High, and shall think he may change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hands. Wherein he shows not only the pride and presumption of

antichrist, but that he shall also prevail for a time. Such a one there has been, and yet is. He blasphemes God, murders the saints, has changed times and laws, the laws of God, and the laws of nature. He is antichrist.

To make an end of this part, for knowledge of antichrist, who he shall be, in what place he shall dwell, and of that which should hinder his coming, let us remember he shall be no Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian; and no king, or temporal wight, but a bishop, a universal priest, and most holy pope.

As Jerome, upon the words of the prophet, Zech. xi. O idol shepherd, that, &c. saith, "I doubt nothing but that this foolish and unskilful shepherd is antichrist, which should come towards the end of the world." And further saith, "This shepherd is so wicked, that he is not called a worshipper of idols, but an idol himself, because he calleth himself God, and will be worshipped of all men."

Let us remember we may not seek him in the streets, or in market-places, or in woods, or in the wilderness, but in the temple of God. There shall he sit, and hold the stern, and devise laws and canons, and shall rule the hearts and consciences of the people; there shall he show his power, and put on the cloak of simplicity, and truth, and of holiness.

St. Augustine saith, Antichrist shall not only sit in the church of God, but also shall show himself in outward appearance, as if he himself were the church himself. "Not that he sitteth in the temple of God, but he sitteth as the temple of God, as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the church." Let us remember what shall hinder his coming, even the safety of the emperor, and his continuance in that full power and estate wherein he then was.

The decay of the empire shall make way for antichrist. If therefore it be weakened, and has been weakened any time since, if the kingdoms of the world be divided from it, that is an evident token that the coming of antichrist is not stopped, but that he has come and showed himself, and by little and little, ever since such decay of the empire, has enlarged himself and established his power over all countries and nations. As Chrysostom saith, "As long as the empire shall be had in awe, no man shall straightway submit himself to antichrist; but after the empire shall be dissolved, antichrist shall invade the state of the empire standing void, and shall labour to pull unto himself the empire both of man and God."

Verse 8. *And then shall that wicked man be uttered whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the appearance of his coming.*

Antichrist shall be opened by little and little. All his devices and practices shall be disclosed, that they may appear and be seen of the world. He is in this place called o ANOMOS, "a man without order." This is another peculiar note of antichrist; he shall seek to be free, and to go at liberty; he shall be tied to no law, neither of God, nor of man. Let us once again look into the state of the church of Rome, to seek out this lawless man. There he sitteth that saith, "I cannot err."

Why is it said, "The pope is exempted from all law of man?" And again, why must we expound any fact of the holy father for the best? And if it be theft, or any other thing that of itself is evil, as adultery or fornication, we must think it is done by the secret inspiration of God. Again, why say they the doings of the pope are excused, as Sampson's murders, as the Jews' robberies, and as the adulteries of Jacob? And again, Why say they, "Neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world, may either judge or depose the pope," but because he is lawless?

Why is it said, that "In such things as he wills his will stands instead of reason; neither may any man say unto him, O sir, why do ye this?" but because he is lawless? Why is it said of him, although all the world would judge in any matter against the pope, yet it seems we ought to stand to the judgment of the pope? for he seems to have all laws in the chest of his bosom; but because he is "that lawless man?" Why is it, "notwithstanding the pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into hell, that yet no mortal man may once dare reprove him," but because he is that lawless man?*

* Bishop Jewell refers to the authorities here quoted—instead of his references the following extracts from the decretals and Bellarmin may be given. "If the pope, regardless of his own salvation, and of the salvation of his brethren, be found unprofitable, and remiss in his works, and carry with him innumerable people, in troops, to the devil; no mortal is to presume to reprove his faults, because he, being to judge all, is judged of none." Bon. Mart. ap. Decret. dist. 40. c. 6.

"We declare, affirm, decree, and pronounce to every human creature, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, to be subject to the pope of Rome." Bon. viii. Extrav. Com. de major. et obed. c. 1. f. 8.

"Though the pope should err in enjoining vices, and prohibiting virtues; yet would the church be bound to believe the vices to be

Why is it said, "The pope may also change the very nature of things in applying the substantial parts of one thing to another, and of nothing can make something, and of no sentence can make a sentence; for he may dispense above the law, and of wrong may make right, by correcting and changing the laws?" One Zabarella saith, they persuaded the bishops, that they might do all things, and therefore whatsoever they listed, yea, such things as are not lawful.

How could this have been wrought, but that the Scriptures should be fulfilled? This is he whom Paul describes, that wicked "lawless man." Thus he reigns and rules without law, without reason, without fear of God, without regard of man. He is exempted from all law, and his word is law to bind all the world. This is antichrist. This is he of whom Daniel prophesied: He shall think he may change laws and times;—the times of nature, and the laws which God himself hath ordained. This is he who has carried himself so long under the colour of holiness. This is he who has beguiled and blinded the eyes of the world.

But blessed be the name of our God, who is the God of truth, and the God of lights; his tyranny and treachery is now revealed, and therefore not regarded. Oh! what mountains of money made he sometimes of pardons! His pardons were reputed the only safety and comfort of men's souls. He was not reckoned a Christian, whosoever sought them not. No man might lack them, neither in his life nor after his death.*

But where are they now? what is become of them? who buys them? who regards the having of them? who reposes his trust in them? Children make sport of them, and play with them in the streets; they see the filth of them, and the folly, and abhor them. How cometh this to pass? The man of sin is revealed.

What a kingdom made he of purgatory! He shut out thence whom he listed, and released such as were there, at his pleasure. He claims power over the quick and dead; he sold the years, the days, and the months, by round reckoning, a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, and thousand thousand years of pardon.

Of which folly his own canonists were ashamed. One of

virtues, and the virtues vices, if it would avoid sinning against its own conscience." Bellarmin. de pont. iv. 5.

* A few years before, some graves were opened on the removal of some religious houses, by the duke of Somerset. Dr. Haddon, who was present, relates that in many instances caskets were found, which had been buried with the bodies, containing the pope's pardons.

them saith, Touching that Christ said unto Peter, Unto thee will I give the keys, &c. We must understand this authority with a corn of salt (otherwise it may be unsavoury); therefore certain of the pope's pardons that promise twenty thousand years, are foolish and superstitious. (Jo. Major in 4 sentent.)

This pardon was not given for nothing, but sold for money. Who had aught to give, had speedy despatch; but poor souls that had nothing, or no friends to pay for them, should lie still. This was a wealthy kingdom. But now where is purgatory? who regards it? who cares for it? Children scorn it in their streets, and know it is a fable. How comes this so to pass? The wicked or lawless man is revealed.

He was able to rule the whole world with a beck. His word stood as the word of God; no prince or emperor durst withstand it; it was thought impossible that he should err. But now the world sees that his word is deceivable and vain; he errs, and has lived in great error. Now few men will believe him, no prince will trust his word; howsoever they whose eyes God hath not yet opened to see the truth, trust him in religion, in worldly matters they will not trust him. How cometh this to pass? the man of sin is revealed.

What shall I say more? Behold, round about the world in all places, and even at Rome itself, the poor massing priest stands a-cold, and can get no hire; the pope's palls* lie rotting; his bulls go a-begging; his wares stand upon his hand; no wise man will buy them. Why? how comes this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed, all his deceit and treachery is revealed.

The pope stirs and strives at this day all that he can. He excommunicates and curses; he sends out his bulls; he blows up seditions; he breeds treasons; he raises subjects against their princes; he sets princes upon their subjects; he imprisons and murders the saints of God; he shakes and inflames the whole world in his quarrels; but all in vain. Why so? how comes this to pass? There is no counsel, no wisdom, no fire, no sword, that shall prevail against the Lord. The man of sin and his errors are revealed. Men see, and know, and detest the blindness wherein they were led; the people forsake him.

* A part of the dress of Romish archbishops, made at Rome from wool consecrated with great ceremony, and sent to every prelate on his being recognized by the pope, and for which large sums of money were charged. The popes' decrees are called bulls, from the Latin word "bulla," on account of the seals affixed to them.

Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall abolish with the brightness of his coming:

Verse 9. *Even him whose coming is by the effectual working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders,*

10. *And in all deceivableness of unrighteousness among them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they may be saved.*

By the order of the apostle's words, I should now speak of the overthrow of antichrist; how and by what power he shall be confounded. But because the two verses next following speak yet of the state of antichrist, by whose means he shall come, and of what countenance he shall be, and with whom he shall prevail, it shall be good we consider these things first, and then show how he shall be destroyed.

When Christ came into the world, he came in the name of his Father, to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to gather the flock that was scattered. Antichrist shall come in the name of the devil, to scatter, and disperse, and consume the flock of God's sheep. His coming shall be by the effectual working of Satan. And what or who is Satan? He hath been a murderer from the beginning; through his envy came death into the world; he is the prince of this world, the prince of darkness, the father of lies, the spirit of pride, which hath said, I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the Most High.

He shall work and inflame the heart of antichrist, and fill it with his spirit and wickedness, and shall make him the man of sin, and the son of perdition, full of vanity, and of pride, and of ungodliness, that he may mock the world, and blind the hearts of the people.

His coming shall be by the working of Satan, yet he shall make show as if he came in the name of Christ. He shall come with fatherly looks, with holy countenance, and shall set himself in the holy place; but his whole endeavour shall be to deface the kingdom of Christ; which he shall practise to do, not by the leading of any angel, or archangel, or by the power of God, but *by the effectual working of Satan.*

He shall allege the doctors and fathers; he shall allege Peter and Paul, the holy apostles of Christ; he shall allege Christ and God himself, as though his doings were warranted by them; he shall say, I am the buttress and pillar of the church, my word is the word of God; he shall set

up masses and sacrifices of his own; he shall take away the word of God; he shall teach the people to give divine honour to a weak creature.

But St. Paul in this place discloses him and his doings, and lays them open to the eyes of the faithful. He works not the work of an evangelist, as did Peter, or the other apostles; he takes not power and authority either of God or of Christ; but *his coming is by the operation of Satan.* Therefore he foreshoweth, antichrist shall command to abstain from meats; he shall say, Touch not, taste not; he shall also forbid to marry; he shall say, marriage is unholy, and unlawful; not convenient, not meet for holy profession.

Who would not think it a holy thing, to abstain from meats, and to chastise the body? who would not think it a holy thing, to abstain from marriage, and to think of those things which belong to God? seeing holiness and devotion are a pleasant sacrifice to God. But yet it is not all so. Some shall speak lies through hypocrisy, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats. They shall depart from the faith, and give heed to the spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, 1 Tim. iv. He saith it is the devil's gospel. They are canons and rules of antichrist. Satan shall instruct him, Satan shall be the author and founder of that religion.

With all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all deceivableness of unrighteousness. He shall need to be of great power and force that will encounter with God. Therefore the apostle saith he shall come with miracles and devices of Satan. Christ foretold, Mark xiii. that false Christs shall rise, and false prophets, and shall show signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect. Again he saith, Matt. vii. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and by thy name cast out devils? and by thy name done many great works? And then will I profess to them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity.—These things shall Satan bring to pass under my name.

The apostles wrought miracles, thereby to confirm the gospel which they preached. As the evangelist writes, Mark xvi. The Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with the signs that followed. And as the apostle, Heb. ii. Salvation at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God bearing witness thereto, with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according

to his will So shall antichrist work miracles to overthrow the gospel. As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall prevail no longer, for their madness shall be known to all men, as theirs also was, 2 Tim. iii.

Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharaoh and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent. And the charmers of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments. Aaron smote the water, and all the water that was in the river was turned into blood.—And the enchanters of Egypt did likewise with their sorceries. And as Aaron caused frogs to come and cover the land, so the sorcerers did likewise with their sorceries, Exod. viii. But the illusions of the magical arts came to nought, see the book of Wisdom xvii. and it was a most shameful reproach for boasting their knowledge. So shall antichrist come in working signs and lying wonders, as did Jannes and Jambres, to deface the gospel and glory of God.

It is not said, he shall work wonders, but false lying wonders. But how can his miracles be false? If false, how are they miracles? if miracles, how are they false? They shall be false after two sorts; some are called false miracles, because they seem to be miracles, and are not; some are called false miracles, because they are used falsely to maintain his falsehood.

Of the first sort of false miracles, we have seen an infinite number in the days of our fathers, in the kingdom of antichrist. Then was there an appearance of spirits, and visions of angels: our lady came swimming down from heaven; poor souls came creeping and crying out of purgatory, and jetted abroad;* and kept stations, casting flakes of fire, and beset highways, and bemoaned their cases, the pains and torments were so bitter.

They sought for help, and cried for good prayers; they cried for dirges, they cried for masses of requiem, for masses of scala cœli, for trentals of masses. Hereof grew portsale† of pardons, and hereof grew the province of purgatory, the most gainful country that ever was under the city of Rome.

But these miracles were no miracles at all; they were devised by subtle varlets and lazy lordanes‡ for a purpose, to

* Ran up and down. These deceptions have been practised in later days.

† Public sale by outcry, as of fish when the fishermen return to port.

‡ Slothful fellows.

get money. Oftentimes the spirit has been taken and laid in the stocks; the angel has been stript; the good lady has been caught; the conveyance and the miracle has appeared; the engines, and sleights, and the cause, and the manner of the working, have been confessed.

In those days, idols could go on foot; roods* could speak; bells could ring alone; images could come down, and light their own candles; dead stocks could sweat, and bestir themselves; they could turn their eyes, they could move their hands, they could open their mouths, they could set bones and knit sinews; they could heal the sick, and raise up the dead.

These miracles were conveyances and subtleties, and indeed no miracles; the trunks by which they spake, the strings and wires with which they moved their faces and hands, all the rest of their treachery, has been disclosed.† These are the miracles of which Paul speaks—miracles in sight, in appearance, but indeed no miracles.

The other sort of false miracles is, when such things as indeed are wrought and done, are untruly applied by antichrist to maintain his falsehoods. God giveth recovery to the diseased; the deaf receive their hearing; the blind receive their sight. He assuageth the tempests, and stayeth the rage of fire, that it continue not. These things are done by the finger of God. Antichrist draws us from so thinking of the mercy of God, and tells us we have other friends to whom we are beholden, which have done so and so for us.

It was this saint, saith he, it was that saint, that took pity of your case, and wrought the remedy for you. It was Apollonia, it was Genouefa, it was Sitha, it was our lady; such a saint is able to do much, such a saint can work miracles. Hereof grew invocation of saints; hereof it came to pass that each saint was assigned and allotted to his sundry charge and several offices apart; St. Blase for the choking; St. Roch for the pestilence; Anthony for the burning; Valentine for the falling sickness; Romane for madness; Apollonia for the tooth-ache;‡ Petronilla for agues,

* Images representing the crucifixion.

† At the time of the Reformation, the rood of Boxley in Kent and other celebrated images were taken to pieces at Paul's cross, and the contrivances by which they had appeared to possess the power of self-motion were exposed.

‡ At the time of the Reformation, an immense number of teeth, enough to have filled a large cask, were found in different monaste-

and others for other purposes: wherein it was wisely foreseen, that they were so limited and ordered, lest perhaps any one might be over-saucy, and encroach upon, and trouble his fellows.

It was also foreseen, that all saints should not have power to work in all places. Some wrought at Canterbury, some at Walsingham, some at York, some at Buxton, some in one place, some in another, some in the towns, some in the fields.* Even as Jeremiah said among the Jews, chap. xi. According to the number of thy cities were thy gods. Hereof grew pilgrimages and worshipping of images, and kissing of reliques; hereof grew oblations and enriching of abbeys; every man had his peculiar saint on whom he called; every country was full of chapels, every chapel full of miracles, and every miracle full of lies.

These miracles are wrought by antichrist; they are his tools, wherewith he worketh; they are his weapons, wherewith he prevaileth; they are full of lying, full of deceitfulness, and full of wickedness: so shall antichrist prevail, and rule over the world. By these miracles he shall possess the ears, the eyes, and the hearts of many, and shall draw them after him.

He shall shadow the moon, and darken the sun, and make the third part of the stars of heaven to follow him; he shall change light into darkness, and darkness into light; he shall work in all things at his pleasure. If a man see well, he shall make him blind. This is a miracle. Such as are whole, he shall make sick; he shall infect them with leprosy, which before were clean. This is a miracle. He shall change the sense and feeling of nature; he shall make the son hate the father, and shall make the father hate the son; yea, to seek the death of his son. This is a miracle. He shall make the people mislike and doubt the word of God, and embrace his follies. This is a miracle.

ries and other places of Romish devotion, all said to be genuine relics of Apollonia. She was a martyr in the persecution of Decius, A. D. 251: having had her teeth dashed out by the executioners, she was regarded by the Romanists as having especial power to cure the tooth-ache, and prayers were accordingly offered to her by the ignorant while suffering. One instance of Romish superstition will suffice to explain this passage without noticing the others.

* An image of a saint, or of the virgin, at one place was supposed to have superior power to another image of the same saint at a different place. Thus pilgrimages were made to distant shrines; as by persons in the west or the north to our lady at Walsingham in Norfolk, when they had images of the virgin in their own towns.

These are the works of antichrist, which he shall bring to pass. This shall he work in all deceivableness of unrighteousness. He shall come with all kinds and shifts of deceit; he shall come with show of praying, with vizard of fasting, with companies of monks, friars, canons, and all kind and colour of holiness; he shall seek to prevail by threatening and by flattering, by fair means, and by foul; he shall excommunicate, and release from excommunication; he shall promise forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting; he shall make boast of the fathers and ancient doctors, he shall make boast of the universal consent, he shall boast of general councils, he shall boast of Christ's apostles, and of the gospel of Christ, and of the word of God. So shall he falsely and deceitfully work himself credit, and beguile the world, in abusing the holy name of God. No kind of deceitfulness or subtlety, but he shall use it. So shall he make the people seek unto him, and kings and emperors to fall down before him, and to say, Who is like unto the beast? who is so wise, so learned, so holy, so wealthy, so mighty, and so catholic? Without him no man is to be reckoned holy or learned; without him no man may traffic, buy, or sell; without him no man may read publicly in universities; no man may preach to the people, no man may be accounted a Christian, no man may hope to be saved without him, without his leave and liking. Such wonders, such miracles, shall he work; so shall he conquer and subdue the world.

Now who are they which shall be deceived, in whom shall he prevail? *Among them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* They which perish, shall be deceived by him whose hearts are not marked with the Spirit of God, whose names are not written in the book of life, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine unto them; they shall follow him, and shall be the children of damnation, and shall have their reward with him.

Be he learned or unlearned, be he king or subject, albeit he be holy, albeit he be catholic, antichrist shall come unto him in all deceitfulness of unrighteousness, because he hath not received the love of the truth, that he might be saved.

Here mark, he does not say, Because they receive not the truth, but he saith, *Because they receive not the love of the truth.* Many in our days can speak thus; I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God

unto salvation to every one that believeth, Rom. i. for it is the savour of life, 2 Cor. ii. unto life, They can say, There is given none other name under heaven, whereby we must be saved; neither is there salvation in any other than by Jesus Christ, whom we have learned by the gospel, Acts iv.

Many will confess, there was never more nor better teaching since the time of the apostles. They seem to receive the truth, but they are like the horse and mule, in whom is no understanding; they receive it, because the prince receives it, and because the politic laws of countries establish it; they are carried away with the sway of the world; they hear it with their ears, nay, I would to God that they would lend their ears to the hearing of it, but with their hearts they do not hear; they have no feeling of the word of God, and of the truth; they weigh it not, they love it not; they consider not what it is, nor from whom it is sent; they know not that it is the water of life, and the bread which is sent from heaven; they have no taste, no savour, no pleasure in it.

Therefore it shall be taken from them, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof; they shall be cast into utter darkness, and the last state of them is worse than the first. It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they had known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them, 2 Pet. ii. It should not be charged upon them for their damnation; for our Saviour saith, John xv. If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now have they no cloak for their sin. They find no sweetness in the word of God; they are not converted by it, that they may be saved; they have no pleasure in the ways of the Lord; they have no comfort to know his will.

These are the bond-slaves of Satan; these are they upon whom shall come the abomination of desolation; these are they against whom Satan and antichrist shall prevail, because they have not received the love of the truth; they have not received it into their hearts, that they might be saved; they had no hearts to feel it; they had no eyes to see it.

Verse 11. *And therefore God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies;*

12. *That they all might be damned which believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.*

The Spirit of God is the Spirit of truth, and giveth light

into our hearts, and maketh us behold that blessed hope, and rejoice in the knowledge of his will. Therefore the prophet David maketh prayer, Psal. li. O God, renew a right spirit within me, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. And again, Psal. xiii. O Lord my God, lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death. And again he saith, Psal. xxxvi. With thee is the well of life, and in thy light shall we see light.

Without this Spirit we are but flesh and blood, even void of sense and understanding. The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, 1 Cor. ii. No man knoweth the things of God. but the Spirit of God. And those things which God hath prepared for them that love him, he hath revealed unto us by his Spirit.

Christ saith, John vi. No man cometh to me except the Father draw him. Unless a man be born from above, unless God print and seal his heart with his finger, he shall not be able to see the kingdom of God.

Now if we have the word of God before our eyes, and regard it not, nor be thankful for it, nor set price by it, God in his justice will withdraw it from us. Then shall we delight in darkness, and have pleasure in error; our latter end shall be more dreadful than was our first beginning. This is it which Paul saith, *God shall send them strong delusions;* that is, his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, shall depart from their hearts, and the power of Satan shall dwell with them, and wholly possess them. This is the just judgment of God; and this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, John iii. They forsake the light, and delight in darkness; and this is their condemnation; they will not understand nor seek after God, that they may be reformed.

The prophet saith, Psal. cix. Because he loved cursing, it shall come unto him; and because he loved not blessing, so shall it be far from him. God will strike them with blindness; they shall be astonished; they shall fall into rebuke and the snares of the devil; they shall be drowned in perdition and destruction.

So great shall be the power of error, men shall not only be deceived, but shall be deceived mightily and strongly; they shall desire to be deceived, and shall bear a deadly hatred against him, whosoever shall seek to reform them; they shall harden their hearts against God and his holy

word; they shall stop their ears, and not hearken to his counsel; they shall not open their eyes to behold the destruction which is to come upon them.

So great and so mighty shall be the delusion, so deadly shall be the cloud and blindness of their hearts, they shall be given over to a reprobate mind; they shall be filthy, and increase in filthiness. Such shall be the power of Satan, such shall be the power of error and deceitfulness, they shall despise the glorious gospel of Christ; therefore God shall forsake them, and give them over to follow antichrist.

God hath this day sent the light and comfort of his holy word into the world. Many godly men have desired to see that which we see, and to hear that which we do hear. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath in mercy visited us. We beseech him to bless the work that he hath begun.

St. Paul saith, Titus ii. The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared. And to the Colossians he saith, The gospel is come unto you, even as it is unto all the world. And again, Rom. x. Have they not heard? No doubt their sound went through all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world. The poor receive the glad tidings of the gospel. God hath visited and redeemed his people.

But yet the apostle saith, Rom. x. They have not all believed the gospel; for Isaiah saith, chap. liii. Lord, who shall believe our report? And again saith the prophet Isaiah, I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which have walked in a way that was not good. Wisdom crieth in the streets: I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out mine hand, and none would regard, Prov. i. Such is the power of Satan; so shall he stop their ears, that they shall not hear nor understand what is spoken in the name of the Lord.

Paul is a true prophet, and foretold long before, that which we may now behold with our eyes; In the latter times, some shall give heed unto spirits of error, 1 Tim. iv. They shall be as men without sense or feeling, they shall forsake the truth, and betake themselves to follow lies and fables. Even they shall do this, who shall sit in the church of God, who shall profess and carry the name of Christ.

Christ ministered his last supper in both kinds. St. Paul told the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xi. As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death

till he come. That this institution of Christ should be kept in the church until the end of the world, the apostles received this order, the holy fathers and martyrs used it. But now many, even too many, will not so have it, nor so use it. They will not follow the example of the fathers, nor of martyrs, nor of the apostles, nor keep the ordinance of Christ; so strong a delusion hath bewitched them.

The people of God were taught to pray in the vulgar tongue, that their hearts might give consent, and their mouths say, Amen. This order did Peter, and Paul, and John, and James, and the godly fathers keep. There is not one of them that took orders for the contrary; but now there are some risen up, who, in despite of Christ and his apostles, say that prayers shall be made in a strange tongue, either Latin or Greek.

The people shall not understand what they hear; they shall not know what it is which they themselves say; their hearts cannot give consent thereto; their mouths cannot say, Amen. The example of the apostles, the commandment of Christ, the comfort of the people, the confusion of the church, nothing moves them, so great and mighty is the power of error.

The people worship a creature, instead of the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for ever. They see they do amiss, yet continue in it, and find no fault; they see wherein their fathers were deceived, yet they say, they could not be deceived; they see many and foul abuses, yet seek not to redress them. For they say, We will walk in the ways of our forefathers; we will believe as they believed, howsoever they believed; we will do as they did, whatsoever they did; we will not hear the word of the Lord. Thus shall they delight in darkness, and loath the light; they will be deceived, and will not see the truth; so mighty and so terrible is the power of error.

They are learned in philosophy and in the tongues, they are learned in the laws, they are learned in physic, learned in the doctors, and learned in histories; they are skilful to buy and sell, to purchase land, to enrich themselves, and to provide for their children; they have knowledge in all things else. But themselves, and the truth of God, and the way to salvation, they have not known.

A thief, when he is taken, blushes; a harlot is ashamed of her filthiness, and a drunkard of his beastliness. But they that are such, have hardened their faces, they cannot

blush. Whatsoever they have said or done, either openly or in secret, by hypocrisy or cruelty, by rapine or treachery, in offering pardons to sale, in deceiving the people of God, in accusing the righteous and condemning the innocent, they cannot repent; they know no shame—so great is the power of error.

Christ saith unto them, Matt. xxi. The publicans and the harlots shall go before you into the kingdom of God. They consider that they have done amiss; but you are wilful in your blindness. Oh! the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! Who is wise, and considereth this? They strive against the manifest truth; they strive against their own conscience; they strive against the Spirit of God. This is that sin which never shall be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.

Therefore, saith Paul, *that all they might be damned which believed not the truth.* All shall be damned which believed not. Then let no man say, I will follow the example of my fathers; I will do as the greater part doth; so many, and so many, for so many years, in so many places have been on this side. The judgment of God standeth not in the multitude, but in the truth. Whosoever shall set themselves against his holy will, be they ever so many, they shall be damned.

Let such mark well what Ignatius, who lived in the time of the apostles, said: "I have heard some which say, Unless I find the gospel in them of old time, I will not believe it. But unto such I say, that Jesus Christ is unto me antiquity, whom to disobey is manifest and unpardonable destruction." Let no man say, I hope I do well; my meaning is good; I have a desire to please God; I believe well, I do my conscience; if I do amiss, God will regard my simplicity. Let no man so say. Augustine saith, "It is certain, that a foolish faith not only doth no good, but also hurteth." If thou believe not the truth, thou dwellest in lying; thou art the child of the devil, who is a liar, and the father thereof. The mouth which speaketh lies, slayeth the soul. Thy faith is no faith; it is but a wilful opinion; it is but an error, for it is not according to the truth; it is not built upon the rock: it is not grounded on the word of God.

Change thine error. Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Receive the truth, believe the truth, and love the truth; otherwise, if thou refuse the bread of life, and feed on poison; if thou forsake the water of life, and dig

unto thyself a cistern that will hold no water, thou shalt lead thy days in wilfulness, and shalt die in sin; thy blood shall be upon thine own head; thou shalt not see the glory of God; death and damnation shall be thy recompense; because thou hadst pleasure in wickedness, and didst not give thy heart to receive, and love, and believe the truth.

Now it remains that we hear how antichrist shall be overthrown. We have seen his pomp and pride, his might and power, that he overlooks all the world, binds all kings, and princes, and nations, to keep his laws, and is himself exempted from all laws of God or man; so mighty and so marvellous is his power, who can declare it? He is called of his own side, "Stupor mundi," the gaze-stock, or wonder of the world: something less than God, something more than man.* But, being in all this estate, in the midst of his pontificalibus,† so fast mortised, so high built up to the skies, so surely shoared, so strongly beset on every side, he shall be suddenly shaken down, and shall become the shame of the world.

How may this be done? being so mortised, so built, so shoared, and so beset, who shall shake him down? what power shall consume him? Shall it be the great power of kings or of emperors? They shall give their power and authority to the beast, and fight with the Lamb, that is, against Christ. Shall it be the authority of bishops, and cardinals, and great clerks? All they are linked and joined to him. Shall it be by the wisdom and drift of counsellors and men of law? They are the feed men, and sworn to him. Shall it be the violence and conspiracy of the people? They shall kneel down to him, and honour him, and reverence him as an angel of God.

If neither the power of doctors, nor of bishops, nor archbishops; if not the power of counsellors, and men at law; if not the power of the kings and princes of the world; if not the power and commotion of the people; if all these shall not abolish him, what power then is it, wherewith he shall be consumed? It shall be the power of God, which shall be revealed from above. *The Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth.*

These words are diversely taken; some expound them

* In the gloss on the canon law the pope is blasphemously styled, "the Lord our God;" this was approved and passed by pope Gregory XIII.—Vide Bullam ejus, Rom. i. Jul. 1580.

† With his robes and ornaments on—in his best estate.

thus; God shall appoint the great angel Michael to set upon antichrist, and he shall destroy him. Others take these words to be spoken of the day of judgment; and then this shall be fulfilled, when Christ shall say, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire; that this is the Spirit of the Lord's mouth wherewith he shall be consumed.

But the apostle speaks of the preaching of the gospel; that God by his word, which is mighty to do all that whereunto he appointeth it, shall make his doings manifest, and let all the world see that he was not sent of God; that he never set forth the glory of God; that he has not sought the salvation of the people; that in matters of faith and in all his life he is adversary to Christ.

This is that breath which shall descry his errors and vanities; this is that spirit which shall consume the kingdom of antichrist; this overthrow is already begun, as our eyes may behold this day.

In like sort speaks Isaiah the prophet, chap. xi. He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. Princes make their conquests by power and strength, by fire and sword, and engines of war; but God shall beat down his adversary with the rod of his mouth, by the true preaching of his word. His word is mighty; it is his sword; it is his mace; it is the rod of his mouth; it is the breath of his lips; it is of great force, no strength shall withstand it; it shall smite the earth; it shall slay the wicked.

St. Paul saith, 2 Cor. x. We do not war after the flesh, for the weapons of our warfare are mighty, through God, to cast down holds. This sword hath hewn down in many places, the cruelty, tyranny, simony, insatiable greediness, the errors, ignorance, darkness, vanities, hypocrisy superstition, and idolatry, which have been brought into the church, and used by antichrist. These were the pillars, and strength, and glory of his kingdom.

And here mark the apostle's speech; he saith not, God shall convert antichrist, or change his heart, that he may be saved; but he saith, *Whom the Lord shall consume.* God's word is almighty. By his word he can do whatsoever pleaseth him. He can make the deaf to hear, and the blind to see; he was able to call the thief upon the cross unto repentance; he was able to raise up Lazarus out of his grave; he is able of stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

He can throw down every high thing that is exalted

against the glory of God, and will bring kings, and princes, and the rulers of the earth, to the obedience of Christ. But of antichrist it is said, *The Lord shall consume him.* Such is the hardness and blindness of his heart, he will not receive the love of the truth, he will not believe the truth of God that he might be saved; therefore destruction shall come upon him.

Hereby we are taught what to think or hope of reformation of the abuses and errors of the church of Rome. They have been advertised of them, not only by the professors of the gospel, but also many of themselves have spoken for reformation of sundry abuses; they have kept many councils and assemblies; they have promised redress; they have sat in consultation many years.*

What one thing have they reformed? See and look over their acts and sessions; they are abroad in print. Hitherto they have reformed nothing; no, not their pardons; no, not their stews; they have hardened their hearts, and set themselves against the Highest. Therefore shall the glory of the Lord show itself in their destruction; with the breath of his lips they shall be consumed, and brought to nothing.

And shall abolish with the brightness of his coming. The Lord shall come, and shall make his enemies his footstool. Then the sun shall be black as sackcloth, and the moon shall be like blood. There shall be an earthquake: kings, and great men, and rich men, and every bond man, and free man, shall hide themselves in dens; they shall say to the hills, and mountains, and rocks, Fall upon us, and hide us from the presence of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.

Then shall antichrist be quite overthrown; then his kingdom shall he utterly abolished and have an end; then it shall appear who has sought the glory of Christ, who has followed the doctrine of the gospel, and who has done the true endeavour of a faithful shepherd; then it shall appear who is the wolf, who scatters and spoils the flock.

St. Jerome saith, "The cup of the Lord's right hand (which is the Lord and Saviour) shall compass him about, when he shall slay him with the breath of his mouth, and

* From the commencement of the general council of Constance, A. D. 1414, to the commencement of the council of Trent, A. D. 1545, various councils had been held, and the whole of Europe had been kept in expectation of a reform in the church by those assemblies. The anxiety on this subject, which was felt for some years previous to the meeting of the council at Trent, was very general.

shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming; then all the ignominy and shame which he hath heaped up upon himself, with thoughts, deeds, and words, shall fall upon his glory and pomp, insomuch that he shall be afterwards as vile and contemned of all men as he was before reputed or highly esteemed of them."

This might suffice touching the ruin and fall of antichrist; yet I will add to that which has been spoken, the manner of the fight, and of the victory, and of the triumph which shall follow. The fight is doubtful and dangerous; the victory shall be glorious; the triumph shall be joyful. Here let us call to remembrance the wars which tyrants and ungodly princes have made against the people of God, and what followed.

Sennacherib, the great king of the Assyrians, came up against Jerusalem with horses and chariots, and infinite numbers of picked soldiers. The whole country of Jewry was in an agony; all the people were astonished with fear to see so many enemies, and themselves so few; to see the enemies so strong, and themselves so weak. They knew neither where to seek aid, nor how to escape the present danger.

Suddenly the Lord sent his angel from heaven to relieve his people. In one night he smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred fourscore and five thousand, which were all dead corpses, 2 Kings xix. The residue were scattered, and ran away straggling; they knew not where to hide their heads. King Sennacherib went his way, and returned; and when he was in safety at home, and worshipping his god Nisroch in his temple, Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, slew him.

Remember the cruel wars which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made against God's people. He took their city, spoiled their temple, sacked Jerusalem, and gave the prey to his soldiers; he took the nobles, and gentlemen, and merchants, and yeomen, and led them captives. Some of them he took with him to Babylon, and some he sold for money; so great and so terrible was his victory.

In the midst of all his pomp, God bereft him of his reason, and astonished him with deadly madness. He was driven from men, and did eat grass as the oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown as eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws, Dan. iv. He imagined that he was an ox, that he had hoofs,

and horns, and hair, as oxen. He therefore forsook his palace, his princely apparel, and dainty fare, and lay abroad, and fed with beasts: so did God avenge the cause of his people.

Who hath not heard of the war which Pharaoh had against the Israelites? The battle was strange, and the victory sudden. The people of God were beset with dangers on every side; the wilderness had shut them in; before their faces they saw the raging sea, that they could not escape it; behind their backs they beheld Pharaoh with his army march after them; if they went forward, they must needs be drowned; if they retired, they must needs be slain; their enemies were mighty, and they were weak.

Suddenly God divided the waters, and made the sea dry land; so that the children of Israel went through the midst of the sea upon dry ground, safely as through a meadow. Pharaoh followed after with his sword and spear, to work his fury; then the sea returned to his course, and drowned the chariots, and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh; there remained not one of them alive. Their carcasses lay afloat upon the water, and were cast in heaps upon the shore. Such shall be the end of those that hate the Lord; so shall he make his name triumph over all the world.

Let us imagine a battle of two mighty princes, both of great power, and of great courage; they meet together in the field; they join in battle; both sides encounter together; either part is bent to beat down the other. What a horror is it to hear the neighing of horses, the sound of trumpets, the thunder of drums, the roaring of guns, the clashing of swords, the groaning and mournful voice of them which are slain, and the crying and trembling of the people!

Now let us by this make some resemblance of the battle between Christ and antichrist; between Christ, the Son of God, and antichrist, the son of the devil: either of them is well prepared; they are both mighty, and have both of them soldiers and knights to attend upon them.

Antichrist shall come from the earth, for all his glory is upon the earth; his power shall be the power of Satan. Christ shall come from the heaven above, even from the bosom of his Father. What cognizance shall they give? how and by what difference shall their soldiers be discerned? The ensign of Christ shall be everlasting truth; the ensign of antichrist shall be falsehood, and vanity, and all deceitfulness. By these marks shall either be known.

With what soldiers shall they make their field? They that shall follow Christ are poor and simple, who have forsaken themselves, their goods, and their lives, and tremble at the word of God. The men of war, who fight with antichrist, and follow him, shall be mighty kings and princes, and powers, and states of the world, as St. John hath said, Rev. vii. And Gregory hath said, "An army of priests is prepared to wait upon the king of pride." And hereby may you know him.

What armour shall they have, and with what weapon shall they fight? Antichrist shall furnish his men with spear, and sword, and fire. He shall rejoice in killing, in burning, and in shedding of blood. Christ shall send his men into the field naked, and armed with patience; they shall take up their cross, and follow him, ready to suffer whatsoever shall be laid upon them: their weapons shall be prayers and weeping. What shall be the pretence of this fight?

Antichrist shall come in his own name, to maintain and exalt himself. Christ shall come in his Father's name, to maintain the glory of his Father. What shall they seek? wherefore fight they? what is it they shall desire to maintain? Antichrist shall desire to maintain his own traditions. Christ shall maintain the holy word of God; Christ shall procure the glory of his Father; antichrist shall maintain his own glory.

In what place shall this battle be? upon what downs or plain, or in what country? Neither in hill nor in any plain, but in the hearts of the people. There shall the war be, there shall it be fought. If it were possible, the elect should be confounded, his assaults shall be so terrible that many shall be offended in Christ; many shall deny Christ; many shall be ashamed of him, and the love of many shall wax cold. But blessed is he which continueth to the end.

We have heard briefly of Christ and antichrist, their states, their several cognizances, what bands of men they shall have, what armour they shall bear, by what title they shall claim, what they shall seek, and where the fight shall be; that it shall be made in the consciences of the people. There shall antichrist sit, there shall he be worshipped as God; there they shall call him the holy, and most holy father; there shall be given to him the power of heaven and earth; there he himself shall rouse himself, and be settled, and shall say, I sit as a prince, I shall never be removed, I cannot fall.

But Christ shall blow him down *with the breath of his mouth, and shall abolish him with the brightness of his coming;* Christ shall have the upper hand, and destroy him; even that Christ whom they made the reproach and scorn of the people, whom they reviled, calling him drunkard, and companion unto publicans and harlots; who was so poor and simple, who was oppressed and afflicted, and yet opened not his mouth; who was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and was killed.

St. John had a revelation, and did see Jesus Christ, the Son of God; He had in his right hand seven stars, and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword, Rev. i. It was sharp and mighty; It entereth through, even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, Heb. iv. So we see the breath of the mouth of Christ is a sword. This sword shall overthrow antichrist.

Remember how Dagon fell on his face upon the ground before the ark of the Lord, how he could not stand, how at that presence the head and the two palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold with a fall. So shall antichrist fall at the presence of Christ; his arms and his head shall be broken off, and he shall not stand.

Remember that Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharaoh and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent; so did the charmers of Egypt; they cast down every man his rod, and they were also turned into serpents. But Aaron's rod devoured their rods, and consumed them to nothing; even so shall the truth of Christ consume and bring to nothing the falsehood of antichrist.

All his glory shall be scattered as the chaff which the wind driveth away, as a thin foam is scattered away with a storm, and as the smoke which is dispersed with the wind, and as the darkness which cannot abide the light of the sun; it shall be consumed, it shall be defaced, it shall not stand. At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is mighty, to the glory of God the Father; that he is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power.

But who may better disclose this mystery, and the fall of antichrist, than John the evangelist, who leaned on Jesus' bosom, whom Jesus loved, and who was endued with wisdom from above? Let us hear him. I saw, saith he, Revelation

xiv. an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having an everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship Him that made heaven and earth, the sea, and the fountains of waters. And there followed another angel, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great city; for she made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. And the third angel following them, said with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before the Lamb; they shall have no rest day nor night. Again the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a loud voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done; that is, it is concluded, judgment is given, it shall stand for ever. And there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and there was a great earthquake, and the great city was rent into three parts, and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

Then one of the angels talked with me, saying, Come, I will show thee the damnation of the great harlot, that sitteth upon many waters, with whom have committed fornication the kings of the earth, and the inhabitants of the earth are drunken with the wine of her fornication.

And in the same chapter he saith, These have all one mind, and shall give their power and authority to the beast, that is, to antichrist. Thus the kings and all princes (as his attendants and servants) shall fight against the Lamb. But the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings. I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great power, so that the earth was lightened with his glory, and he cried out mightily with a loud voice, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon, the great city, the harbour and palace of antichrist, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits. And I heard another voice from heaven say, Go out of her, my people, believe her not, do not as she commandeth you, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins are come up into heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her, even

as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her works; and in the cup that she hath filled unto you, fill her the double.

Inasmuch as she glorified herself, and lived in pleasure, so much give you to her torment and sorrow; for she saith in her heart, I sit, being a queen; the world is mine; no ill shall touch me; therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and she shall be burnt with fire, for strong is the Lord God which will condemn her. And the kings of the earth which have committed fornication, and lived in pleasure with her, shall bewail her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, and shall stand afar off, for fear of her torment, saying, Alas! alas! the great city Babylon, the mighty city; for in one hour is thy judgment come.

And the merchants of the earth shall weep and wail over her; for no man shall buy her ware any more, the wares of gold and silver, and of precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and of purple, and of silk, and of scarlet; of all manner of thyne-wood, and of all vessels of ivory, and of all vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and of iron, and of marble, and of cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and servants, and souls of men; no man any more shall buy her parchment, wax, and seals; no man shall buy her orders, her dispensations, pluralities, totquot, non-residence, perinde valere.* No man shall buy her concubines, her oil, salt, holy water, holy bread; no man shall buy her palls, her agnus Dei's, her jubilees, masses, trentals, and pardons; no man shall any more buy of her forgiveness of their sins, and life everlasting; no man shall regard her, no man shall buy, or seek to get this merchandize of her any more.

The merchants of these wares shall stand afar off, for fear of her plagues, and say, Alas! that great city that was clothed in reins, and scarlet, and purple, and gold, and diamonds, and precious stones, in one hour is all thy glory stript from thee. Oh! what city under heaven was like unto thee! Thou wast the great city, the noble, and the holy city. Then a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, With such violence shall the great city Babylon be cast, and shall be found no more.

* Various papal privileges and licences so called.

She shall be out of remembrance. They shall seek the place where she stood, and not find it. The voice of harpers and musicians shall be no more heard in her; the light of a candle shall shine no more in her; her merchants, officers, and dataries,* were the great men of the earth, and by her enchantments were all nations deceived; and in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth.

Then I heard a great voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, HALLELUJAH, salvation, and glory, and honour, and power be to the Lord our God; for he hath condemned the great harlot, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants shed by her hand. And again they said Hallelujah. And the smoke rose up for evermore, and the four-and-twenty elders fell down, and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen, Hallelujah. Then a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God all ye his servants, both small and great. And I heard like the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of strong thunderings, saying, Hallelujah, for our Lord God Almighty hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to Him, for she is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon, that great city, there she lieth, the mother of filth and fornication; there lieth antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, which hath sat in the temple of God, and exalted himself above all that is called God; that wicked and lawless man lieth there.

The Lamb, the Root of Jesse, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, hath overcome, and gotten the victory; he is worthy to receive the glory and honour. Then shall the apostles, and the prophets, and the angels say, Praise, and honour, and glory be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for evermore. We thank thee, we give thanks to thee, O God, which art, and wast, and shalt be. Thou hast avenged the blood of the prophets and martyrs; thou hast destroyed them that have defiled the earth; thy name be blessed for ever, Amen, Hallelujah.—Such glee and triumphs shall be in heaven for the overthrow of antichrist.

Thus have I by occasion of the apostle's words spoken of the coming, and of the kingdom of antichrist; and lest we might be deceived, as touching his person, I have said

* A chief officer in the chancery of Rome, through whose hands most of the presentations to vacant benefices pass,

what he should be, what things he shall do, of what estate he shall be, what countenance he shall carry, in what place he shall sit, at what time shall be his coming, by what means he shall prevail, who they are that shall believe in him, what power shall beat him down, what end he shall have, what triumph shall follow upon his fall.

I have told you, that he shall be the overthrow of the world, the confusion of the church, the son of perdition; that he shall destroy himself, and be the destruction of others.

I have told you, he shall be a reverend father, and wear a mitre, and be a bishop, and a bishop of bishops; so saith Gregory, so Jerome, so Augustine and Bernard, and others. And cannot we tell WHO it is, that calls himself, A universal bishop, the bishop of all churches? do we not hear of such a one? Do we not know him? Whatsoever he be, wheresoever he dwell, what countenance soever he bear, he is antichrist.

I have told you, he shall sit in the temple of God, in the consciences of the people; that the people shall hear, credit, follow, and honour him, as if he were God, and think it sin and damnation to break his lore.

I have told you where he shall be stalled, where his chief place shall be, whence he may be seen. St. John saith, he shall sit in a city built upon seven hills—that city is the city of Rome; Rome is so built; Rome is set upon seven hills. The Sybil saith, Antichrist shall sit by the water of Tiber, and Tiber is a river that runs by Rome. Joachim Abbot saith, Antichrist is long since born at Rome, and shall be advanced in the apostolic see. He is born, and shows himself not at Babylon, not at Constantinople, but at Rome. These are plain speeches. If any man doubt this, let him read their books; they are extant abroad. Antichrist shall sit in Peter's chair, and Rome shall be the seat of his kingdom.

I have told you, he shall come when the state and majesty of the empire shall be weakened. Antichrist shall possess the emperor's land, and bear the sword, and wear his crown, and shall make the emperor fall down, and worship him, and kiss his feet. Hath there ever been any such bishop in the world? hath there, I say, ever been any such? If ever there were any such, St. Paul saith, the same is antichrist.

I told you, the world shall fall down, and reverence him, and shall seek life and salvation at his hands. John saith,

they shall cry, Oh! who is like the beast? who is like our holy father; who is so wise, so learned, so holy? They shall follow him whithersoever he shall lead them, they shall eat whatsoever he will give them; and they which shall do thus, are such as have no feeling, no care, no love to the truth of God; therefore God forsaketh them, and leaveth them to follow lies.

I told you, he shall prevail by falsehood and by feigned miracles; by bulls, by pardons, by purgatories, and by such other devices and shifts of Satan.

I told you, he shall be contrary to Christ, in sacraments, in sacrifice, in prayers, in life, in doctrine, in religion, in the whole form and order of the church. He shall shut that which Christ hath opened, he shall open that which Christ hath shut; he shall curse that which Christ hath blessed, and bless that which Christ hath cursed. No man shall be accounted faithful, no man catholic, no man the son of the church, no man may be saved, without him; such credit and countenance shall he bear.

I told you, he shall be confounded and beaten down by the force and power of God's mighty word. His word is omnipotent; it shall disclose the works of darkness; it shall hew down idolatry, superstition, and the whole kingdom of antichrist, as our eyes do see this day. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, his mighty hand hath wrought these things; he hath triumphed through the name of his Christ; he will bless the things he hath begun; he will overthrow the whole power of antichrist by his presence, and by the glory of his coming. Then shall it appear who is the successor of Peter, who is the true vicar of Christ, and who is antichrist.

Verse 13. *But we ought to give thanks always to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because that God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and the faith of the truth.*

14. *Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

God hath chosen you from the beginning, his election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtlety of antichrist; you shall not fall from grace; you shall not perish. —This is the comfort which abideth with the faithful when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them

forsake the truth, and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and wallow again in the mire.

When we see these things in others; we must say, Alas! they are examples for me, and they are lamentable examples. Let him that standeth, take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me; his mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing, I must needs come to the ground. Although all the world should be drowned with the waves of ungodliness, yet will I hold by the boat of his mercy, which shall safely preserve me.

If all the world be set on fire with the flame of wickedness, yet will I creep into the bosom of the protection of my Lord; so shall no flame hurt me. He hath loved me, he hath chosen me, he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor mine own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful; so shall they wash their hands in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore saith Paul, You are my children; I have begotten you in Christ; God hath given you unto me; he hath made the gospel, which is come unto you by my ministry, fruitful in you. I ought to give God thanks always for you. Whatsoever falleth upon others, although others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ, and follow after antichrist, yet God hath loved you, and given his Son for you; he hath chosen you, and prepared you to salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life.

But how may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this election? or how may we feel it? The apostle saith, Through sanctification and the faith of truth; these are tokens of God's election. Have you received the gospel? It is the light of the world; it teaches us to know that God is God, and that we are his people. The credit you give to the gospel is a witness of your election.

We believe whatsoever God speaketh, because it is the word of God; for his word is truth. We believe that Christ is the Lamb of God, that he hath taken away the sins of the world, because it is the word of God, John i. We believe that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin, because it is the word of God, 1 John i. We believe Christ came to save sinners, because it is the word

of God, Matt. ix. We believe God will defer his wrath, and will show mercy for himself, for his own name's sake, because it is the word of God, Isa. xlviii. We believe they that trust in the Lord, shall not be confounded, because it is the word of God, Psal. xxii.

We believe that we are saved by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast, because it is the word of God, Eph. ii. We believe that without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. xi. and again, that faith cometh by hearing; and again, that it is the gift of God, because it is the word of God; it is the truth, Rom. x.

We believe that antichrist shall be confounded, and bereft of all his glory, because the word of the Lord hath spoken it. His word is righteousness and truth. We will always believe what is true, therefore we cannot but believe the word of God, Rev. xviii. xix.

Faith knoweth no falsehood, it beholdeth the truth only; and not all truth, but the truth of God; it is not settled upon vanities, nor upon errors. Unless it be truth by the word of God, whatsoever thou holdest in opinion, is not to be called faith. The Turk is settled in errors; he persuadeth himself he is rightly settled; he calleth his opinions faith and belief; yet this is not faith, because it is not the faith of truth; it hath not the word of God to assure it.

Therefore when men will say, Believe our masses, believe our sacrifices, believe our transubstantiations, and our real presences; believe us, whatsoever we say, believe that we cannot err; believe that you are in a good belief, if you say you believe as the church believeth, though you know not how or what the church believeth, they abuse and mock the people of God. There is no truth in this doctrine; it never passed out of the mouth of God.

God ordained not masses, nor that the priest should offer sacrifice for the quick and dead; therefore it is no matter of faith, it is folly and vanity, it is ungodliness, it is error, it hath no substance. He that receiveth such doctrine, maketh much of a shadow; he cannot hold it.

Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. The word of God is truth. The gospel is the word of God, and the power of God to save them that believe. The belief of the gospel is laid up in our hearts by the Spirit of God—He bringeth us to the knowledge of the truth. This Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit, that we

are the sons of God. This Spirit teacheth us to withdraw our minds from worldly cares, to call our doings to a reckoning, to think of the dreadful day of judgment, to repent for our former sins, and to serve God in holiness and righteousness. This Spirit showeth us the mercy of God, helpeth us to pray, and prayeth for us; he is our Comforter, helpeth our infirmities, and maketh us know the things that are given us of God.

This did David see, when he prayed, Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. My heart is sinful, my heart is foul; renew it with thy Spirit; thy Spirit is right; he shall make my heart clean. Again, Take not thy holy Spirit from me: I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid; turn thy face away from my sins; behold me, and receive me in thy mercy; restore me to the light of thy countenance. Open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise. Stablish me with thy free Spirit.

This strength we gather in God by his Spirit; this comforteth us in all temptations, and beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God, that God hath chosen us, and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory, that God will keep us as the apple of his eye, that he will defend us, and we shall not perish.

Verse 15. *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and keep all the instructions which ye have been taught, either by word or by our epistle.*

God hath set you in a race; let no man hinder you, let no man keep you from the goal. Stand fast, and keep that doctrine which you have received. When I was present with you, I taught you by word of mouth; when I was away from you, I taught you by letters. I am careful for you, I bear you in my heart, and love you in Christ Jesus. He hath given me charge over you; he will require you at my hands; I have cleansed and garnished your hearts by the word of truth; take heed, take heed the wicked spirit come not, and bring seven spirits worse than himself, and enter in, and dwell with you, and the end of you be worse than the beginning.

Remember Lot's wife; she went not forth straight in the way appointed her, but looked back behind her, and she became a pillar of salt; and so continueth until this day, a

terrible example to those which have set their hand to the plough, and look back again, and have made themselves unworthy the kingdom of heaven.

God will forsake such, and make their hearts hard as a stone. You are the corn of the Lord's field. God hath blessed you; grow then, and be fruitful until the harvest, that you may be gathered into the Lord's barn. You are the light of God, which God himself hath kindled; let no puff of wind put you out. You are the house of God; God hath built you upon a rock; let no violence nor tempestuous weather beat you down.

I have spoken to you, I have written to you, I have showed you the whole counsel of God. The word which I spake to you is the very* word of God. I testify before the Lord, and call God to witness unto my soul, that it is the truth of God, and not any device of man. You did believe it, you received it not as the word of men, but, as it is indeed, the word of God.

Become not now unfaithful. Although you spy many infirmities in your teachers; although you see them fall into offences, and wax covetous,† and give evil example in their life and conversation; although you see the faith of many shaken, and that they have put away from them a good conscience, and turn back from the love of the gospel, which they once seemed to profess, and so are gone out from among you; yet stand you upright.

Hold fast the doctrine which you have received, and continue in the things which you have learned, and be persuaded that they are able to make you wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Christ saith, Matt. xviii. Wo be to the world because of offences. Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea. And again he saith, Matt. xi. Blessed is he which is not offended in me. Therefore work your own salvation in trembling and in fear. Blessed is he that abideth with Christ in temptation, and continueth faithful unto the end.

* The true word of God.

† There were some painful instances of eagerness for worldly gain among the Protestant ministers in the reign of Elizabeth. See Strype, particularly some circumstances narrated in his life of Aylmer.

Verse 16. *Now the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, and our God, even the Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace,*

17. *Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every word and good work.*

After his exhortation that they would stand fast, and continue faithful unto the end, he turneth himself to God, and prayeth him to look upon them mercifully down from heaven, and to fulfil the work begun, and to increase and multiply his grace in them. So ought all preachers and servants of God to do in their sermons. For, alas! what are we? what is our word, what is our labour, without the assistance of God?

We are only the voice of a crier in the wilderness; we call upon the people to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make his paths straight; we give warning that the Lord is even at hand. He that teacheth is nothing; he that planteth is nothing; he that watereth is nothing; our tongue is nothing; our word is nothing; our wit* is nothing; Peter is nothing; Paul is nothing; it is God who openeth the hearts of the people, and maketh them tremble at his words—it is God who giveth the increase, and maketh his word to be of force.

The prophet saith, Psal. lxviii. The Lord gave the word; great was the company of preachers. It is the work of God, both to make his word mighty, and to make the people to receive it, and yield unto it. He giveth us hearts to feel the comfort of his word, and to yield our obedience in doing as the word requireth. For he is the Father of lights, from whom all gifts are poured down upon us. We are the children of Adam; we are flesh and blood, and nothing but vile clay and ashes. Our eyes are dim, our senses dull, and our hearts heavy. Christ telleth us truly, John xv. Without me ye can do nothing, neither hear the word, nor believe it.

I mark your presence, that you are many gathered together this day in this place. Every man seemeth to stand with bent countenance and earnest looks, and desirous to learn. And albeit, I who speak am but a worm, unworthy to creep upon the earth, yet the word which we have heard is the word of God, the word of comfort, and the word of

* Understanding, ability.

life. But God knoweth in all this company how many have ears to hear.

In the Acts of the apostles, when God opened their hearts, they understood the Scriptures. Before, they heard, and knew not what they heard. Paul preached; Lydia, a woman who sold purple, heard him; the Lord opened her heart, that she hearkened unto Paul, Acts xvi. Then she understood his words, and believed. This comfort is of God, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation; he will give you understanding hearts, and will stablish you in every word and good work.

CHAPTER III.

Verse 1. *Furthermore, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free passage, and be glorified, even as it is with you.*

Pray for me, that I may be a faithful servant, doing the will of God from my heart, that he will open my mouth boldly to publish the secret of the gospel, and to declare the riches and glory of his kingdom. For of myself I am nothing; I have not the key of David; I cannot give light unto the world, and am not able to open the hearts of the people, that the word of God may have free passage.

He saith not, Pray for us, that my word may have passage; or, that my name may be spoken of and glorified; or, that the people may behold my doings, and talk of me; For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Christ's sake, 2 Cor. iv. I am but an unprofitable servant; I am the poor ox that treadeth out the wheat; I am a poor crier, to proclaim the will of the Lord.

Pray you that the word of the Lord may have free passage; that the gospel of Christ may be glorified; that the hearts of the people may be ready and greedy to receive it; that the kingdom of heaven suffer violence, and the violent take it by force; that the word may so possess the hearts of the people, as fire hath passage through stubble; that it may shine as the sun-beams over all the world; that it may be known from east to west, and from north to south.

In this sort pray that the word may have a glorious entrance into you, and also among others. Herein shall

appear the love you have to the saints, and the zeal you bear to the house of God, when you wish others to be partakers of this blessedness with you. When you seek not your own glory, but the building of the church of Christ; when you pray that God will be merciful unto others, as unto you; that a light may be given to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, that they may know the time of their visitation.

Such a prayer made David, Psal. lxvii. God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine among us, that they may know thy way upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God, let all the people praise thee. Thus did Jeremiah pray, Lam. v. Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned. Give us a new heart and a new spirit, incline our hearts unto thy testimonies, that we may know and fear thy name.

So did Christ teach us to pray, Matt. vi. Hallowed be thy name, among the infidels which know thee not; let thy name be had in reverence among all people. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done. There is no other God but only thou; let all the earth come and worship thee. Even so must we also pray, that the word of God may have free passage, and his name be glorified in all places.

Verse 2. *And that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men, for all men have not faith.*

3. *But the Lord is faithful, which will stablish you, and keep you from all evil.*

4. *And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do, and will do, the things which we command you.*

5. *And the Lord guide your hearts to the love of God, and the waiting for of Christ.*

From unreasonable and evil men. Which conspire against the Lord and his Anointed, which blaspheme that good name that is called upon us. Such were Jannes and Jambres, who resisted Moses in the time of the law. Such were they in the time of the prophets, who said, Jer. xliv. The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee; but we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, as we have done, both we and our fathers, our kings and our princes.

Such were in the time of the gospel the scribes and the pharisees, Matt. xv. which made the commandment of God of no authority by their tradition, which turned darkness into light, and light into darkness. Such was Alexander the coppersmith, such were others; the whole Scriptures are full of such; they were false prophets, false apostles, false brethren; they caused divisions in the church; they went out to preach in the name of Christ, but inwardly they were ravening wolves.

Such were in the days of our fathers, and such there are in our days, such Jannes and Jambres, such idol-worshippers, such scorners of God's word, such scribes and pharisees, such Alexanders, such false prophets, false apostles, and false brethren; we have more than a good many in our days; they pretend the gospel, no man more. In company of protestants, they will be protestants; in company of others, they are quite become contrary.

They come to the church, and receive the holy communion; they resort secretly to corners, where they hear mass; they like the one, and like the other; they like the light, and they love darkness, and make no difference between them. These are ready to serve Christ, and also ready to serve antichrist; faithful neither to God, nor to Baal: and this is among many counted the highest point of wisdom, to be able so to colour and hide himself, that you shall not know what profession he is of, to what church he joins himself, what religion he holds, whose word or gospel he follows, in what God he believes.

Such there are; and they only are the singular men, reckoned the fine wits and cunning fellows of the world! This is to be lamented, that in a Christian state there should be any such; that they at whose hands God shall require a straiter account than of others, because he hath given them the use of greater talents, either of wit or of learning, or of preferment, or of riches, should so mispend the good gifts of God, or use his talents to such evil purpose, that they more than all others should devise means how to deny Christ among men, and, as much as in them lieth, to seek to crucify again the Lord of glory.

The Jews deal not so wickedly; the Turks deal not so traitorously; the Jew, although his case be miserable, and his heresies most dangerous, yet he is earnest in his folly; he will not dissemble his profession. The Turk is faithful unto Mahomet, and will not deny or forsake him.

These false brethren and dissembling Christians are worse than Jews and Turks; they are void of conscience, void of faith, void of fear, of shame, and of the grace of God; they are filthy swine, shameless dogs, and the enemies of the cross of Christ. These hinder the passage of the gospel, and blaspheme the holy word of their salvation, and do all that in them lieth to abolish the light of God's truth. St. Paul telleth us, All men have not faith; many hearts are naked, and void of faith; many seem to live, and yet are dead.

Howsoever these men carry out their doings in this life, they cannot mock God; he knoweth who are his. Christ shall say unto these cunning-witted dissemblers, Depart from me, ye hypocrites, I know you not; you shall receive your portion with the devil and his angels.

Pray that we may be delivered from such unreasonable and evil men, that they stop not the free passage of the gospel, that they may have no power against the glory of God. Then shall it appear, that God is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works, that his truth and mercy shall last for ever. He will establish us in all goodness, and defend us from all evil; he will keep us from all the power of Satan: he will keep us from all temptations, that the wicked shall not prevail against us.

And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do, and will do, the things which we warn you of. You know what commandments we gave you by the Lord. I spake unto you the will of God, and not mine own. I was unto you but a messenger, to deliver unto you such an errand as God sent unto you. I hope you have received it in such duty as becometh, and that you both do and will hereafter obey it.

I am your physician; the receipt which I have given you is sovereign, and shall work your health. I trust it tarrieth with you, and you brook it well. I have spoken unto you in the name of God; his name is holy; he will cause that my labour shall not be in vain, but will make it fruitful in you.

Although all men have not faith, yet all men are not void of faith; although there are many the children of this world, yet there are some the children of light. He that is of God, heareth the word of God; they that are the sons of God, are obedient to the wisdom of God their Father.

God guide your hearts, that you may love him, that you may know what good God hath wrought unto your souls; that you may see the depth of his mercy; that in all your tribulations and adversity under the cross, and in your death, you may look for the day of Christ, when the trumpet shall be sounded, the graves shall be opened, the dead bodies shall come forth, and we shall be taken up into the clouds. Then shall he change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body; then shall we be like the angels of God; we shall see God face to face, and rest with him for ever.

Verse 6. *We warn you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the instruction which he received of us.*

The kingdom of God is like to a draw-net cast into the sea, that gathereth of all kinds of things; it is like a field, wherein groweth both corn and weeds. Sundry virgins went out to wait upon the spouse; some were wise, some were foolish; some had oil in their lamps, some had none. Many came to the marriage; some had their wedding garment, some lacked it. Many are called, but few are chosen. Some bear the name of Christians, yet live in usury, to the spoil and undoing of their brethren; some bear the name of Christians, yet live in adultery and fornication, as the heathen who know not God; these are they, through whom the name of God is evil spoken of.

Therefore saith Paul, I warn you, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately. Forsake him, refuse his company, eat not with him, drink not with him, that so he may be ashamed of his filthiness. Receive him not to your house, nor bid him God-speed; for he that biddeth him God-speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.

Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but even reprove them rather. A little leaven doth leaven the whole lump. The wrath of God shall come, not only upon those which commit wickedness, but also upon all those which consent to the working thereof. Among the Corinthians one had committed incest, and had taken his father's wife. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. v. Let such a one be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that

the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Deliver him up to Satan.

Mark his words, and in what case he speaketh them; for, they that delight in wickedness, and are sold over unto sin, which are filthy, and increase in filthiness, they are not of God, they have no part in the church of God; the devil and Satan hath power over them, therefore deliver them up to Satan.

The reward of sin is death; the soul which hath sinned shall die. For this cause hath the church of God ordained excommunication; that he who hath done wickedly may be ashamed; that others who are guilty may be afraid; and that the heavy displeasure of God may be avoided.

We warn you, saith he, *in the name of our Lord.* You know me, and my name, and that I am an apostle of Christ. But the commandment which I give you is in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I warn you by the glorious day of his coming, that you withdraw yourselves from every one that liveth inordinately. Receive him not to your company, bid him not God-speed, that you be not partakers of his evil, that he may know his filthiness, and be ashamed.

Yet let us pray for such, that they may be sorry, that they may know whom they have offended, and turn again unto the Lord. For God would not the death of a sinner, but that he repent of his wickedness and live. The mercy of God is above all his works.

Verse 7. *For ye yourselves know, how ye ought to follow us, for we behaved not ourselves inordinately among you.*

8. *Neither took we bread of any man for nought, but we wrought with labour and travail night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you:*

9. *Not because we have not authority, but that we might make ourselves an example unto you to follow us.*

10. *For even when we were with you, this we warned you of, that if there were any which would not work, they should not eat.*

11. *For we hear that there are some which walk among you inordinately, and work not at all, but are busybodies:*

12. *Therefore them that are such, we warn and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread.*

13. *And ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing.*

Here Paul maketh his speech against those, who, under the pretence of the gospel, lived idly, and would not labour. Take an example of me; I lived not idly; I earned my bread; I was not chargeable to any. Do you as you have us for an example. So ought the servants of God to live, that their well doing may be a pattern for the people to follow.

St. Paul telleth Timothy, 1 Tim. iii. A bishop must be unreprovable. He saith not, without sin, for no man is without sin; but, without rebuke. And again, chap. iv. Let no man despise thy youth; but be unto them that believe, an example in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, and in pureness. And unto Titus, the bishop of Candia, he saith, In all things show thyself an example of good works, with uncorrupt doctrine, with gravity, integrity, and with the wholesome word, which cannot be condemned, that he which withstandeth may be ashamed, having nothing concerning you to speak evil of.

So in this place to the Thessalonians he saith, You behold my conversation, how I have lived among you. Be ye followers of me; let me be the pattern for you to follow.—Such should be the speech of all those who are bishops and ministers in the church of God. They must walk so uprightly, that they may be unto all others the patterns of good life, of liberality, of mercy and of love. They must carry the ark of the Lord, that the people may follow them.

We behaved not ourselves inordinately, &c. Whereas I was an apostle of Christ, the first fruits of the gospel, a chosen vessel, called from above, and set apart from mine own business, to be the ambassador of God into the world, and had so much to do; yet I used my hands, and pained my body, to get my bread, I lived like one of Adam's children in travail of my body, and sought my bread in the sweat of my brows. Not that I might not lawfully have lived upon you, and have required my maintenance at your hands. It was lawful for me to have done so, for the workman is worthy of his hire. God hath appointed, that he which teacheth the gospel, should live by the gospel.

This matter St. Paul reasoneth with the Corinthians, 1 Cor. ix. Have we not power to eat and drink? or have we not power to lead about a wife, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own cost? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?

I might eat and drink at your charge, and require charges of you for me and mine.

I am the soldier of God; Christ is my captain; I have planted the vine of the Lord of hosts among you: I have fed you; you are the sheep of the house of Israel. The hire due to the soldier, the fruit whereof he should eat which keepeth the vine, and the milk which Christ's sheep yield to their feeder is nothing else but your charitable benevolence towards the servants of Christ.

Again, it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox, that treadeth out the corn. He travaileth for thee, that thou mayest live. Suffer him to take a little for his pains. We are the Lord's oxen; we thresh forth his corn.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things? We are God's husbandmen; we travail and take pains, we plough, we sow, we harrow, we are abroad in wind and weather, in storm, in hail, in lightning, and thunder. No man knoweth the care the poor husbandman taketh. Winter or summer, our work is never at an end. Now if we by our labour minister to you the bread which cometh from heaven, is it much that you give us the bread of the earth? Do you not know that they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? It hath so seemed good unto God; it is his appointment; he hath established it by his law, and it is most agreeable to the law of reason and nature.

Yet this is also to be weighed in the consideration hereof, that whosoever asketh the pay of a soldier, must buckle his armour, and go a warfare; he that drinketh the wine, must plant the grape; he that requireth milk, must feed the flock; he that will not be muzzled, must thresh the corn; he that reapeth carnal things, must sow spiritual things; he that requireth the bread of the earth, must minister to his hearers the bread of heaven; he that will live of the sacrifice, or of the altar, or of the gospel, must offer his sacrifice, wait upon the altar, and teach the gospel.

He that teacheth not the gospel, nor careth for the teaching; he that serveth not the altar, nor careth for the serving; he that goeth not on warfare, that planteth not, that feedeth not, that thresheth not, that plougheth not, that travaileth not, that taketh no pains, that abideth not lightning, thunder, wind, weather, storm, and hail; he that careth not to do these things, I can make no account of him.

He is not within Paul's reckoning. The workman is worthy of his hire; but what right hath he to the hire who is not a workman?

I might, saith he, have received maintenance at your hands; but I took nothing, that I might be an example for you to follow; that none should live idly, but that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread. Idleness is the mother of all mischief; an idle pack is as if he were already dead; his feet serve him not to travel, his hands help him not to work, his eyes serve him not to see his estate, his heart regardeth not the time and misery of his age; beggary falleth upon him, and gnaweth his bones; but he feeleth it not. For he is as if he were already dead.

Solomon saith, Prov. xii. He that followeth idleness hath no understanding. And again, chap. xxviii. He that followeth idleness, shall be filled with poverty. He is unprofitable to himself, and unto others. His children shall beg at every door. Again he saith, chap. xx. The slothful will not plough because of winter; he shall beg in summer, but have nothing; that is, men who have received increase of God's blessing by taking pains, shall deny bread unto such, upbraid them for their idleness, and so drive them to labour.

They will say, as it is devised that the ant said in like case to the grasshopper, In the summer thou didst nothing but sing, therefore thou mayest starve in the winter. These extremities are great, if a man will weigh them advisedly. Yet the book of Ecclesiasticus saith farther, Idleness bringeth much evil. It is an evil teacher; he that doth nothing, is ill occupied. The mind of man is ever stirring, and doing somewhat; if it be not doing well it is doing ill.

Water is clear and fair, fresh and comfortable; yet if it stand still in a hole, or be kept long in a vessel, whence it hath no issue, it will rot and smell, and be unwholesome. Even so it fares with the sons of Adam. If they have nothing to do, no way to bestow their wit, they will rot, and prove unwholesome, and devise mischief all the day long.

What is it that fills the prisons, and brings so many to the gallows, and causes so many parents to bewail the untimely death of their children, but idleness? When the poor wretches have received their judgment, and come to the place of execution, and stand on the ladder, what counsel give they to young men, and to children, but to beware of idleness?

What is the cause of such and so many diseases in the

body? Ask the physicians, and they will tell you, Idleness. Whereof rise mutterings in cities against magistrates? Whereof rise rebellions in kingdoms against princes? You can give no greater cause thereof than idleness. Behold, saith the Lord, Ezek. xvi. this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness. This was it that called for fire down from heaven and wasted so many cities into ashes.

Christ saith, Matt. xii. Of every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof at the day of judgment. If we shall make account for our idle words, what shall we do for our idle hands, for our idle feet, for our idle body, for our idle soul? What account for all our idleness shall we make at the day of judgment?

We warned you, saith the apostle, that if any would not work, the same should not eat. This is a hard saying. Yet saith Paul, I myself have kept it, I have fulfilled it in mine own body. He doth not say, If any be sick, or weak, or impotent, and cannot work; but if any be idle and froward, and will not work, to such a one give not to eat; that so he may see the danger of idleness, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give him that needeth. Eph. iv. It is not lawful to give them the bread of the church, and the alms ordained for relief of the poor. This bread they may not eat.

But you will say, kings and counsellors, bishops, preachers, and all other sorts of learned men, neither plough nor sow, nor hedge nor ditch, nor use such painful labour of the body; they sit at rest, and live idly. They that so think are deceived: the toil which princes take, and the great cares wherewith they are occupied, pass all other cares in the world. St. Paul calls the office of a bishop a good work.

If a bishop or minister study the Scriptures, preach the gospel, catechize the children, and take a care of the souls of God's people; if he sow the Lord's field, feed the Lord's flock, thresh the Lord's corn, and walk before the people carefully; if he have the care of the churches, and can say with the apostle, 2 Cor. xi. Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not? Any offence that is given to my brother is to me as a fire, or as a torment; if he be instant in season, and out of season; if he do the work of an evangelist, and make his ministry fully known, he shall find himself occupied, and not be idle.

The master of the ship seems to be idle, to sit still, and

does nothing; he stirs not the pump, he drives not the oars, he sounds not the deep, he rides not the ropes, he scales not the shrouds, he runs not hither and thither, forward or backward, under the hatches or above; he sits still, holds his peace, and looks upon the loadstar, and in appearance does nothing. But his labour passes all the rest. Without his labour, all the pains which the other mariners take were lost. Were it not for his labour, the ship would soon strike upon rocks, and be stayed on the sands, and they all should perish. Even so fares it in the state of princes and of their counsellors; they seem to do nothing, yet they do all things, which is for the peace, and the wealth, and the safeguard of all the people.

Be not weary in well doing. Many occasions there are to discourage you to do well; the world is full of hinderances; but be you steadfast, unmovable, and abundant always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord. Stand fast, and keep the instructions which you have been taught. Distribute to the necessity of the saints. Do good unto all men, especially to them that are of the household of faith.

Live not after the lusts of men, in wantonness, drunkenness, and gluttony, and in abominable idolatry. Though they speak evil of you, because you run not with them unto the same excess of riot; though the devil cast you into prison, and there you have tribulation, be you faithful unto death. They that have afflicted you shall give an account to the righteous Judge, and the afflictions which you suffer in this present time, are not worthy of the glory which shall be showed unto you.

Verse 14. *If any man obey not this our saying, note him by a letter, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.*

15. *Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.*

You have been taught not only what you shall believe, but also how ye ought to live; be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only. If any despise and will not follow our doctrine, forsake him, and let him have no fellowship with you, that so he may be ashamed, and repent, and turn again to the obedience of Christ. But lay apart all bitterness, and anger, and wrath. Reprove him, but hate him not. Kill the sin that is in him by all the means you can,

for it is the work of the devil; but recover again the man that did offend, and restore him, if it be possible, by exhortation, and by your prayers made for him, for he is the creature of God.

Here I have good occasion to speak of excommunication, a principal part of the discipline of the church, a matter which many know not, which some do foully abuse, and over-lightly give forth, and which many regard not as they ought. It cuts us off from the body of Christ, and removes us from the fellowship of the gospel. Let no man despise it. It is the sword of God, the power of the Holy Ghost, the discipline of Christ; it is an ordinance which the church hath received from above.

By it the goats are divided from the lambs, the weed from the good corn, and the sons of God from the sons of Belial. It has continued from the beginning, and has been used in the church of Christ, in the synagogue of the Jews, in the law of Moses, and before Moses received the law; among the patriarchs and the prophets, and the apostles of Christ.

Christ saith, Matt. xviii. If thy brother trespass against thee in doing any wickedness, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two, and if he will not vouchsafe to hear them, tell it unto the church—publish it and make it known. And if he refuse to hear the church also—if he continue wilful, and stand in his wickedness—let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. This form of excommunication our Saviour has set down, whereby the wicked and ungodly are removed from the church of Christ.

So St. Paul speaks of him that lived in filthiness with his father's wife; that they give him no comfort in wickedness, but take away the evil from among them. Let such a one, saith he, 1 Cor. v. be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus. Company not together with fornicators. If any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one eat not. Let him be put away from the company of the faithful. So did St. Paul excommunicate Hymeneus and Alexander, and delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme, 1 Tim. i.

In the law of Moses, Numb. v. God commanded the children of Israel to put out of the host every leper, that

they should neither eat, nor drink, nor walk abroad, nor come to church, nor offer sacrifice, nor make their prayers with the people. Such a one whithersoever he went, hid his face, rent his clothes, gave warning to avoid his company, and to fly from him, because he was foul and filthy. His hands were filthy, and made the water unclean; his breath was corrupt, and infected the air; so miserable was his case. This was a kind of excommunication; in such sort were the filthy divided from the clean.

God also set down this ordinance to Abraham, that every uncircumcised man-child should be cut off from his people, because he hath broken the covenant, Gen. xvii. This ordinance of excommunication God hath appointed against idolaters, against fornicators and crafty deceivers, and other such-like offenders, in Deuteronomy xxvii. Cursed be the man that shall make any carved or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsmen, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen. Cursed be he that maketh the blind go out of the way; and all the people shall answer and say, Amen.

This is excommunication; this is the use of the keys; this is that of which Christ spake, Luke x. He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me. And John xx. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained. Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, Matt. xviii. whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. What you say shall be confirmed, it shall continue and stand for ever.

If any therefore be excommunicate from the church, and removed from the fellowship of the gospel, and from the hope of the life to come, let him humble himself, and pray unto God that he will open his eyes, and that he may see in what case he standeth. Let him lay forth his heart in the sight of God, and consider his fault, and behold his misery, and think thus with himself: I was sometime the child of God, and a member of his body; I was a branch of the vine which God hath planted, and a sheep of his pasture. But now, alas! I am divided from the pastures of life; I am fruitless and withered, and cut off from that blessed vine; I receive no moisture from that heavenly root; I am no more a member of the body of Christ; I am out of paradise, and have no joy or pleasure; I am out of the temple,

and cannot offer any sacrifice; I am fallen from that heavenly Jerusalem, from the city of God, from the fellowship of the saints, and cannot kneel down, nor lift up my hands, nor make my prayers. God will not hear me; I am none of his; I am as a heathen and a publican; I cannot think of those things which are on high above.

But why art thou cut off from thy brethren, and banished out of the flock of Christ? Because of thine ungodliness and looseness of life; because thou hast offended heaven and earth, and hast offended against the church of God, and lived in fornication and adultery, and both thy body and mind are defiled; thou art unworthy to dwell in the house of God; his house is holy.

By what authority is this done? Thou must not think that the judge or the officer doth it. It is not the judgment of any mortal man; it is the judgment of the almighty and everlasting God; it is his hand that bringeth this to pass against thee; it is his word, it is his key. His hand is mighty; his work shall stand; his word is forcible; his key is the key of David; it openeth, and no man shutteth; it shutteth, and no man openeth. God is departed from thy heart; his Spirit will not dwell in a filthy soul; there is no agreement between God and Belial; thy soul is void of grace and of the fear of God.

What becometh of thee in this case? whither dost thou go, into what misery dost thou fall? Into the gulf of death, into the seat of pestilence, and the power of Satan, and the snares of the devil, and into a reprobate mind; thy heart followeth him; thy soul serveth him. He is the father of all the children of disobedience, and his children follow him. Thou art filthy and increasest in filthiness. The fear of God is not before thee; thou dost not acknowledge thy sin, because of the blindness of thy heart.

Wreak not thyself upon thy neighbour that accused thee, nor upon the judge that pronounced sentence against thee. The sentence is none of his; this is not his work; he has not judged thee; the hand of God is stretched forth to thy punishment; it is thine own life and wickedness which forceth judgment upon thee; the judge sitteth in the place of God, in the seat of justice; he cannot bless him that God hath cursed; he must needs do right and equity.

He sees the abominations of thy life, he sees the filthiness which thou hast done in the house of God, and therefore saith, In the name of the living God, and of Jesus Christ,

before whom I stand, and before whom all flesh shall appear; by the authority of his word, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, I divide thee from the fellowship of the gospel, and declare that thou art no more a member of the body of Christ; thy name is put out of the book of life; thou hast no part in the life to come; thou art not in Christ, and Christ is departed from thee.

I deliver thee to Satan, the prince of darkness. Thy reward shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone; thou shalt starve* and wither, and not abide; the grace of God is taken out of thy heart; the face of the Lord is against all that do evil; they shall not taste his mercy.

As for the judge and minister, who gives sentence against thee, he mourns and laments for thee; when he strikes thee, he strikes himself. We are all one flesh and one blood, and altogether make one body, and are one another's members; therefore when he excommunicates thee from the brethren, he cuts off an arm from his own body. Jeremiah dealt roughly with the people who offended God, and threatened them that the enemy should come upon them, the sword should devour them, and they should be utterly destroyed; yet he wished that he had a stream of tears, that his heart might have wherewith to mourn for their transgressions.

David prayeth that God will stretch forth his hand upon the wicked; Scatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord, our shield, Psal. lix. Again, Psal. xxxv. Let them be chaff before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord scatter them. And again, Psal. lxix. Let their table be a snare before them, and their prosperity their ruin. Again, Psal. cix. Let his prayer be turned into sin—aid him not, hear him not when he calleth unto thee. Yet he saith, I saw the transgressors and was grieved, because they kept not thy word. I pined away, and consumed to death, the grief was so deadly unto my soul.

Christ cried out, Woe upon Chorazin and Bethsaida, upon the scribes and pharisees; yet when he came nigh to Jerusalem he wept over it, saying, Luke xix. Oh! if thou even now, at the least in this thy day, hadst known those things which belong unto thy peace! but now are they hid from thee. Thine enemies shall make thee even with the ground; they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation. Even

* Perish.

such a sorrow also had St. Paul for those that offended God. 2 Cor. xi. Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not? My body is shaken, my heart is wounded for them; such care have I for the church of God.

It is reported of John the evangelist, that he commended a young man to the education of a certain bishop nigh to Ephesus; and when he heard that he was fled, and followed the company of such as were dissolute, riotous, and given over to all manner of lewdness, he was careful for him, and sought him out, and came to the place where he and his ill company were. When the young man knew him, he was astonished, and fled away from him. But the old man followed him, and cried, O my child! turn again, turn unto me; I am thy father, I have begotten thee in Christ Jesus; I come not to hurt thee; there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer unto Christ for thee; fall to the ground, hold up thy hands, ask mercy of God; he is merciful, and will receive thee. At these words the young man cast down his weapons, trembled, wept bitterly, and was converted.

When David heard of the destruction of wicked Absalom, he wrung his hands, and wept, saying, 2 Sam. xviii. O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee! O Absalom, my son, my son! Such a care, such a love and zeal has a godly minister over his people, if he be a true pastor, who has taken his calling from God, and has due consideration of his charge.

He weeps for the sins of the people, as did Jeremiah; he gushes out into tears, and consumes away, as David, because of the ungodly; he is wounded at heart, and trembles, as Paul, to see them perish; he seeks for them, calls after them, that they may return to him, as did John the evangelist; and is willing to die for their sake, if so be he might redeem them, as David was for Absalom.

The people are his children, he is their father, albeit they be wicked and filthy; yet he presents himself before God for them, and pours forth his prayers, and saith, Sanctify them, O Lord, sanctify them with thy truth; thy word is truth. Let their hearts see the wrath to come, and thy heavy displeasure, which they have deserved, and which hangeth over their heads. They are thine; save them, and let not Satan prevail against them.

Turn them, O Lord, and they shall be turned: give them a new heart, and renew a clean spirit in them, that they may fear thee all the days of their life. Turn away

the captivity of their soul; bring them to the fellowship of the gospel; make them lively stones meet for thy building; build up the walls of Jerusalem. So careful is a good minister for the people of his charge, be they ever so ungodly. Yea, the more they lack the comfortable grace of God, the more must be his care for them. This is what St. Paul saith, Have no company with such to encourage him; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.

Verse 16. *Now the Lord of peace give you peace always by all means. The Lord be with you all.*

17. *The salutation of me Paul, with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle; so I write.*

18. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.*

I need not commend peace unto you; it is the guard and strength of mighty princes; it is the nurse and fosterer of the church of God; it is the wealth and prosperity of the world; it is the comfort and quietness of our conscience; it is truce taken with God and man, and ourselves. I need not to tell you who is the worker of peace. You know God is the God of peace.

Worldly peace seemeth to be made by the will and liking of men; but God moveth their hearts, and establisheth it. But the peace of the heart and quietness of mind passeth all understanding. The power, and wisdom, and strength, and riches of all the world are not able to make it. It is the glory of God, that he alone is the God of peace.

I pray for you, that nothing may be done among you to the hinderance of peace, but that it abide with you always, not for a while; not in prosperity only, but in persecution; in your death, and for ever. If God be with you, you shall have peace; and if you love one another, and keep his word, God will come to you, and love you, and abide with you, and give you the comfort of his peace.

The salutation of me Paul. He gave them warning before of false apostles, who came in his name, and pretended his word or his letter, therefore now he tells them how they shall know certainly, whether such epistles as they receive are his, written or sent by him.

In every epistle that I send, saith he, to the churches, or to any of the brethren, I write mine own name, and send this greeting, written with mine own hand, which now I send to you all. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

On the Doctrines advanced by the Romanists respecting the Pope.

THE reader will observe the strong expressions respecting the pope used by bishop Jewell. That the opinions advanced by the followers of the pontiff were more than equally strong, appears from Harding's Confutation of the Apology, of which Jewell says,

"The two principal grounds of this whole book (Harding's Confutation) are these: First, 'That the pope, although he may err by personal error, in his own private judgment, as a man, and as a particular doctor, in his own opinion; yet as he is pope, as he is successor of Peter, as he is vicar of Christ on earth, and as he is the shepherd of the universal church, in public judgment, in deliberation, and definitive sentence, he never erreth, nor ever erred, nor ever can err.'

"The second is this, 'The church of Rome is the whole and only catholic church of God; and whosoever is not obedient unto the same, must be judged a heretic.' These two grounds being once well and surely laid, he may build at pleasure what he pleases.

"As for the pope, the better to countenance his state, he (Harding) saith that Peter received power ordinary to himself and to his successors for ever, &c. For warrant whereof pope Leo saith, (ep. 89.) 'Christ receiving Peter into the company of the indivisible unity, would have him to be called the same that he was himself.' Upon affiance and trust of these words, M. Harding endows the pope with Christ's only prerogative, and calls him by Christ's principal title, The prince of pastors. And further he saith, Of the pope hangeth the safety of the whole church of God. That unto the pope is given all manner of power, as well in heaven as in earth. And that if any man say, the pope hath authority to command the angels and archangels of God, 'we may not be scrupulous in any such matters.' That neither king, nor emperor, nor clergy, nor counsel, nor any power alive can have authority to judge the pope, be his life ever so vile. That the pope is endued with a divine or godly power, and that by the same he is able to depose kings. That the pope even by the institution of Christ is a temporal prince, That all kings and emperors, by the commandment of Christ, receive their whole power and authority from the pope. That the pope, in a right good sense, may be called king of kings, and lord of lords. Like as also in some good sense he may be called our Lord and God. That the pope, whatsoever he be, is always a christian man, by the nature of his office. And therefore, another of them (Dorman) saith, Whether the pope be Judas, (the traitor,) or Peter, or Paul, thereof God never bid us be careful. This only is sufficient for us, that he sit in Peter's chair Likewise M. Harding saith, It shall be sufficient for us to do as Peter's successors bid us to do. Christ now requireth not of us to obey Peter or Paul, but him that sitteth in their chair.

"Again he saith, The whole church of God is the pope's vineyard, The pope is the head, and all the faithful of Christ are his members. The preservation of the whole church standeth in the unity of the pope. Hosius saith, Without one pope, the church of God cannot be one. To conclude, M. Harding saith, Without the obedience of the pope, there is no hope of salvation."

Bishop Jewell refers to the passages in Harding's book, in which each of these assertions is to be found. When such doctrines were gravely advanced, even in controversy with protestants, surely he was abundantly justified in applying to the pope the title of THE LAWLESS MAN.

JEWELL'S APOLOGY.

A. D. 1562.

JEWELL'S Apology was originally written in a consecutive form, without any division into parts, or any numbering of paragraphs. These were introduced into his Defence of the Apology, for easier reference to his replies to Harding, and have been retained in later editions, excepting that the division into paragraphs is not so minute.

The contents of these parts may be stated as follows:—

I. Contains a brief account of the opposition which the truth and true religion have met with in all ages, with some notice of the imputations cast upon the Protestants . . 291

II. Contains a statement of the doctrines held by English Protestants 302

III. States the causes whence heresies have arisen, and the ages in which they have prevailed 315

IV. Gives an account of the rule, lives, and conduct of the popes, and other members of the church of Rome, who have asserted themselves to be the only head and members of the holy catholic church 322

V. Is concerning the opinions maintained by the ancient fathers and councils, with a comparison between some of the Protestant and popish tenets 344

VI Explains the estimation in which Protestants held the councils and decrees of the primitive church, and shows that the papists in reality had little regard either for them or for the Holy Scriptures 358

Jewell's Apology was originally composed in Latin, and published in the year 1562, a period, as the reader will remember, antecedent to those differences of sentiment with regard to various externals of ecclesiastical polity, which arose in England a few years afterwards, and have subsisted to the present day. It was intended as a defence of the doctrines common to the reformed churches against the erroneous assertions and misrepresentations of the papists, and although expressions occur, here and there, which would not be employed by Protestant advocates at the present day, and it recognizes some principles, such for instance as the authority of councils, which have been controverted among Protestants, it has been universally esteemed as one of the most able works of the Reformers upon the Romish controversy, and as a powerful exposure of the papal usurpations with regard to civil as well as ecclesiastical authority. The following remarks of archbishop Usher are important. "The books of Holy Scripture are so sufficient for the knowledge of Christian religion, that they do most plentifully contain all doctrine necessary to salvation. They being perfectly profitable to instruct to salvation themselves; and all other imperfectly profitable thereunto, further than they draw from them. Whence it followeth, that we need no unwritten verities, no traditions or inventions of men, no canons of councils, no sentences of fathers, much less decrees of popes, to supply any supposed defect of the written word, or for to give us a more perfect direction in the worship of God and the way of life, than is already expressed in the canonical Scriptures, Matt. xxiii. 8. John v. 39. Finally, These Holy Scriptures are the rule and line, the square and light, whereby to try and examine all judgments and sayings of men and angels, John xii. 48. Gal. i. 9. All traditions, revelations, decrees of councils, opinions of doctors, &c. are to be embraced so far forth as they may be proved out of the divine Scriptures, and not otherwise. So that from them only all doctrine concerning our salvation must be drawn and derived."

"Jewell's Apology," says Strype, "was translated out of the Latin into sundry tongues, and so made common to most parts of Europe, and was well allowed and liked by the learned and godly, who gave open testimonies of the same." It was translated by dame Anna Bacon, wife to sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, soon after its first publication; she was daughter of sir Anthony Cooke, one of the tutors of king Edward VI. Her father took much pains to improve his daughter in learning. The translation given in this volume was printed in the year 1685; it was grounded upon that of lady Bacon, which had been examined and approved by bishop Jewell himself. Some corrections have been made on reference to the original.

JEWELL'S APOLOGY.*

THE FIRST PART.

1. It is an old complaint, derived down to us from the very times of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the evidence of all histories, and the testimonies of all ages, that TRUTH is a stranger upon earth; and too easily finds enemies and defamers, because she is not known. And although this may seem perhaps incredible to those who have not attentively reflected thereon, because mankind, by the instinct of nature, without any teacher, spontaneously breathes after TRUTH, and Christ himself, our Saviour, whilst he conversed with man, chose to be called THE TRUTH, as if that name aptly expressed all the power and force of his divine nature; yet we, who are acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and have read and considered what hath happened to pious men in almost all ages; what befell the prophets, the apostles, the holy martyrs, and Christ himself; with what slanders, curses, and injuries they were vexed whilst they lived, only for the sake of truth; we, I say, see by this that it is no new thing, but usual, and the custom of all ages.

* Harding, in his Confutation of the Apology, objected to the title of the Apology, or to heretics assuming the name of the church. In his Defence, Jewell says, "There is no reason that we should give over the right and inheritance we have in the church of God, for that you by intrusion and unjust means have instituted yourselves the same. It behoves us rather to search the Scriptures, as Christ hath advised us, and thereby to assure ourselves of the church of God. For by this trial only, and by none other it may be known. Therefore St. Paul calleth the church the spouse of Christ, Eph. i. 23, for that she ought in all things to give ear to the voice of the Bridegroom. Likewise he calleth the church the pillar of the truth, for that she stayeth herself only by the word of God; without which word the church, were it ever so beautiful, should be no church. The ancient father, Irenæus, saith, 'The pillar and buttress of the church is the gospel and the spirit of life.' Augustine saith, 'There are certain books of our Lord, unto the authority whereof each part agreeth. There let us seek for the church; thereby let us examine and try our matters.' And again, 'I will ye show me the holy church, not by decrees of men, but by the word of God.' Likewise saith Chrysostom, 'It can no way be known what is the church, but only by the Scriptures.' And again, 'Christ commandeth that whoso will have the assurance of true faith, seek to nothing else but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they look to any thing else, they shall be offended, and shall perish, not understanding which is the true church'"

Indeed it would appear much more wonderful and incredible, if the father of lies, the devil, that enemy of all truth, should now of a sudden change his mind, and entertain any other hopes of oppressing the truth than by falsehoods; or should now begin to establish his kingdom by other arts than those he hath hitherto employed. For in all ages we shall scarcely find any period of time in which religion increased, established itself, or was reformed, but that at the same time truth and innocence were most unworthily and most injuriously treated by men; for the devil knows very well, that if truth doth flourish in safety, his affairs can neither be safe nor prosperous.

2. For, to speak nothing of the ancient patriarchs and prophets, no part of whose lives, as I said, was free from reproaches and slanders, we know that of old there were some who averred and publicly told the world, that the ancient Jews, who we doubt not worshipped the only true God, performed their religious rites to a swine or an ass, and that all that religion was a mere sacrilege, and a contempt of all deities. We know that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, whilst he taught the truth, was reputed an impostor, an enchanter, a Samaritan, a Beelzebub, a deluder of the people, a wine-bibber, and a glutton. Who knows not what was said of St. Paul, that powerful preacher and assertor of truth? sometimes he was said to be a seditious man, and listed soldiers, and designed a rebellion; and at other times, that he was a heretic, a madman; that, out of a contentious and perverse disposition, he was a blasphemer against the law of God, and a despiser of the customs of the fathers.

Who knows not, that so soon as ever St. Stephen had admitted the truth, and suffered it to take possession of his soul, and thereupon, as he ought, began freely and stoutly to preach and to own it, he was immediately called in question for his life, as one that had spoken blasphemy against the law, against Moses, against the temple and God? or who knows not that the Holy Scriptures have been accused of vanity and folly, upon pretence that they contained things contrary and repugnant one to another, and that all the apostles of Jesus Christ disagreed amongst themselves, and that St. Paul differed from all the rest?

And that I may not trouble you with all the instances of this nature which are upon record, for they are infinite, who knows not that slanders were raised of old against our forefathers, who first embraced and professed the name of

Christ?—that they conspired amongst themselves against the government, and, for that purpose, met very early, whilst it was yet dark; that they murdered male infants, gorged themselves with human flesh, and in a barbarous manner drank human blood, and at last, putting out the candles, perpetrated incests and adulteries, without difference or modesty; that they were impious, destitute of all religion, atheists, the enemies of all mankind, and unworthy of the light of life.

3. All these things were spoken against the Jews, the people of God, against Christ Jesus, against St. Paul, St. Stephen, and against all those who in the first ages embraced the truth of the gospel, and were called CHRISTIANS, a name then hated by the many. And although none of these things were true, yet the devil thought it sufficient to his purpose if they were believed to be true; that so the Christians might incur the public hatred, and be pursued by all, to ruin and destruction.

And thus kings and princes, being deceived, slew all the prophets of God to a man; they condemned Isaiah to the saw, Jeremiah to be stoned, Daniel to the lions, Amos to the iron bar, Paul to the sword, and Christ to the cross, and all Christians to prisons, to racks, to crosses, to rocks, and precipices, to wild beasts and fires, and burnt whole piles of their living bodies for nocturnal lights, and by way of sport and recreation; and never esteemed them better than the most vile filth of the earth, the offscourings and scorn of the world: thus the first authors and professors of the truth were ever treated.

4. Wherefore all we who have now undertaken the profession of the gospel of Jesus Christ, ought to bear it with the less disturbance of mind, if in the same cause we are treated after the same manner; and as heretofore our fathers, so we in this age, are persecuted also with reproaches, slanders, and lies, only because we teach and profess the truth.

5. They cry out in all places, 1. That we are heretics, that we have forsaken the true faith, and have broken the union of the church with new opinions and impious doctrines. 2. That we fetch from hell, and revive the old and long since condemned heresies, and sow the seeds of new sects and unheard-of broils; that we are already divided into contrary factions and opinions, and that we could never yet in any manner agree amongst ourselves. 3. That we are wicked men, and like the giants of old, have entered into a rebellion

against God himself, and live without the least regard to the Deity, and without any religious worship. 4. That we despise all good actions; that we do not use any virtuous discipline; that we regard neither laws, nor good manners, nor right, nor justice, nor equity, nor order; that we let loose the rein, and suffer all sorts of villanies, and even provoke the people to all the licentiousness and luxury that is possible. 5. That our business and great design is the subverting of monarchies and kingdoms, that all states may be reduced under the dominion of the ignorant multitude and the indiscreet populace. 6. That we have made a tumultuous defection from the catholic church, and have shaken the peace of the world, and disturbed the quiet of the church, by a detestable schism: and that, as heretofore Dathan and Abiram rose up against Moses and Aaron, so we, without any just cause, have revolted from the pope of Rome. 7. That we despise the authority of the primitive fathers and ancient councils; that we have imprudently and insolently abrogated the ancient ceremonies, which have been approved for many ages by our fathers and grandfathers, who had better manners, and lived in better times; and that by our private authority, without the consent of a holy and general council, we have introduced new rites into the church; and that we have not done this for the sake of religion, but purely out of a contentious humour; that they, on the contrary, have changed nothing, but have retained all things as they were delivered to them by the apostles, approved by the most ancient fathers, and have been kept ever since, through all the intermediate ages, to this day.

6. And, lest all this might seem to be only a calumny, and that managed by secret whispers only, with design to excite an envy against us, the popes of Rome have suborned eloquent and not unlearned men to undertake the defence of this desperate cause; and to represent it to the world in books and long discourses, in the best colours it was possible to give it; to the intent, that, being elegantly and copiously pleaded, unskilful men might suspect there was something more than ordinary in it. For indeed they saw that their cause was every where in a declining condition; their arts were now seen through, and so were the less esteemed; their fortresses were every day undermined, and their case stood in need of a powerful patronage and defence. But then as to those things, which they have charged us with, some of them are manifestly false, and condemned by the

consciences of them that object them against us; others, though at the bottom they are false too, yet they have the show and similitude of truth, so that an incautious and an unthinking reader may be easily circumvented and deceived, especially if he be surprised by any of their laboured and elegant discourses. And others of the things thus charged upon us, are such as we ought to acknowledge and profess, and not decline the owning them, as if they were crimes, but defend them, as things that were well and rationally done. For, to speak in a word, they slander whatever we do, even those actions of ours which they themselves cannot deny to be rightly and well done, and maliciously deprave and pervert all our words and actions, as if it were not possible that WE should do or speak any thing as we ought. They ought indeed to treat us with more simplicity and candour, if they designed truth; but, on the other hand, they do not oppose us with truth, nor in a Christian way or manner, but with lies in a close and crafty way, and abuse the blindness and ignorance of the rabble, and the want of learning in princes, to the inflaming of their hatred against us, and the oppression of the truth. This is indeed the power of darkness, and the folly of men, who trust more to the stupidity and benighted minds of the unpolished multitude than in the light of truth; or, as St. Jerome expresseth it, "This is to contradict with shut eyes the truth, when it is most perspicuous." But we bless the great and holy God, our cause is such, that though they never so much desire to defame it, yet they can fix no reproach upon it, which they may not with as much reason and justice employ against the holy fathers, the prophets, the apostles, against St. Peter, St. Paul, and even against Christ himself.

7. But now, if they are so ambitious of the honour of being thought polite and elegant slanderers, it does so much the less befit us to be mute and careless in the defence of our most excellent cause. For it is certainly the part only of dissolute men, who can securely and wickedly shut their eyes when the Divine Majesty is injured, to be wholly unconcerned, what is, though falsely and unjustly, said of them and their cause; especially when it is of that nature, that the glory of God, and the affairs of religion, are at the same time violated. For although other, and those often very great injuries, may be borne and dissembled by a modest Christian, "Yet he," saith Ruffinus, "who shall patiently put up with the name of a heretic, does not

deserve to be called a Christian. Permit us then to do that which all laws, and the very voice of nature, command us; that which Christ himself did when he was in a like case assaulted with reproaches; that is, suffer us to repel their defamations, and with modesty and truth to defend our cause and innocence; for Christ himself, when the pharisees charged him with conjuration, as if he had entered a combination with impure spirits, and by their assistance wrought many wonders, replied, John viii. 49. "I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me;" and St. Paul, when he was undervalued by Festus, the proconsul, as a madman, answered, Acts xxvi. 25. "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." And the primitive Christians, when they were traduced to the people as murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and disturbers of the government, and saw that the excellence of their religion might be called in question, especially if they held their peace, and by their silence seemed to confess the truth of these accusations, and so the course of the gospel might be hindered, they thereupon made public orations, wrote supplicant books, and discoursed before emperors and princes, in the public defence of themselves and the church.*

8. But we perhaps may seem not to need any defence; so many thousands of our brethren in the last twenty years having borne testimony to the truth, amidst the most exquisite tortures; and princes in endeavouring to put a stop to the progress of the gospel, and to that purpose using several methods, having yet in the end been able to effect nothing.

* As Quadratus, Justinus, Melito, Tertullian.—Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and bishop of Athens, wrote books for the Christian religion, and made an oration in the defence of it before Hadrian the emperor, by which he put a stop to a furious persecution then moved against it, Anno Christi, 128.

Justinus the martyr, a Christian philosopher, wrote an apologetic oration for the Christian religion, with great freedom and truth, which he dedicated to Antoninus Pius the emperor, and his adopted sons Marcus and Lucius, and to the very senate and people of Rome, Anno Christi, 150; for which he lost his life.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote an excellent apology for the Christians to Aurelius the emperor, which he presented to that emperor in the tenth year of his reign, Anno Christi, 172.

Tertullian wrote a very learned and a sharp apology for the Christian religion, which was some few years since made English. It was first published by the author, without his name, in the year of Christ 201, in the very city of Rome, and did great service to Christianity, which was then most miserably oppressed by the lies and defamations of the pagans, which did it more hurt than all their other fury.

And the whole world now beginning to open their eyes, and to see the light; and therefore it may seem, as I said, that enough hath been spoken, and that our case is sufficiently defended, the thing speaking for itself. For, if the popes themselves would, or, indeed, if they could, consider with themselves the beginning and progress of our religion; how theirs, without any resistance, without any human force, hath fallen; and, in the interim, ours hath increased, and by degrees been propagated into all countries, and hath been entertained in the courts of kings and the palaces of princes, even while it was opposed from the beginning by emperors, by kings, by popes, and almost by all others—these things, I say, are clear indications that God himself fights for us, and from heaven derides and scorns their projects and endeavours, and that the power of TRUTH is so great, that no human force, nor the very gates of hell, shall ever be able to prevail against it. For so many free cities, so many princes, cannot be supposed mad, as at this day have fallen from the see of Rome, and have chosen rather to join themselves to the gospel.

9. For although popes have not as yet, at any time, been at leisure to think attentively and seriously of these things; or although other thoughts may now hinder and distract them, or they may think these things light, and beneath the dignity of the popedom, is our cause therefore to be thought ever the worse? or if, perhaps, they will pretend not to see what indeed they do see, and that they choose rather to oppose the truth, even then when they are convinced of it, are we therefore to be reputed heretics, because we cannot comply with their wills? If pope Pius IV.* had been such a person as his name speaks him, and as he so much desires to be thought; nay, indeed, if he had but been so good a man, as to have esteemed us as his brethren, or as men, certainly he would diligently have considered our reasons, and what could have been alleged for and against us; and not with so rash and blindfold a precipitancy have condemned, without hearing our cause or allowing the liberty of a defence, so considerable a part of the world, so many learned, so many religious men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, as he has sentenced in his bull concerning his late pretended council.

10. But now, because we are so publicly in this unjust

* Pius IV. was chosen to the papacy A. D. 1559. One of his earliest measures was the reassembling of the Council of Trent.

manner noted by him, lest by our silence we should seem to confess the crimes charged upon us, and the rather, because we could in no manner be heard in any public council, where he would suffer none to have any suffrage, or propose his judgment, who was not first sworn to him, and entirely addicted to his interest—for of this we had too great an experience in the late council of Trent, when the ambassadors and divines of the princes and free cities of Germany were totally excluded out of the council; nor can we forget that Julius III. above ten years since, took a mighty care by his rescript, that none of our men might be heard in the council, except it were one that was disposed to recant and change his opinion.*—For these causes, I say, we have thought fit, by this book, to give an account of our faith, and to answer truly and publicly, what hath been publicly objected against us, that the whole world may see the parts and reasons of that faith, which so many good men have valued above their lives, and that all mankind may understand what kind of men they are, and what they think of God and religion; whom the bishop of Rome has inconsiderately enough, before they had made their defence, without example and without law, condemned for heretics, upon a bare report that they differed from him and his, in some points of religion.

11. And though St. Jerome will allow no man to be patient under the suspicion of heresy, yet we will not behave ourselves either sourly, or irreverently, or angrily; though he ought not to be esteemed either sharp or abusive, who speaks nothing but the truth. No: we will leave that sort of oratory to our adversaries, who think whatsoever they speak, although it be ever so sharp and reproachful, is modest and apposite, when it is applied to us, and they are as little concerned whether it be true or false; but we, who defend nothing but the truth, have no need of such base arts.

12. Now, if we make it appear, and that not obscurely and craftily, but before God, truly, ingenuously, clearly, and perspicuously, that we teach the most holy gospel of God; and that the ancient fathers, and the whole primitive church, are on our side, and that we have not without just cause

* The words of the rescript of Julius were, "There shall be a council, that they who have spoken rashly, either may recant their sayings, or else, without further hearing or reasoning of the matter, they may be denounced or condemned for heretics, according to the constitutions already made." *Jewell's Defence of the Apology.*

left them, and returned to the apostles and the ancient catholic fathers; and if they who so much detest our doctrine, and pride themselves in the name of catholics, shall apparently see that all those pretences of antiquity, of which they so immoderately glory, belong not to them, and that there is more strength in our cause than they thought there was; then we hope that none of them will be so careless of his salvation, but he will at some time or other, bethink himself which side he ought to join with. Certainly, if a man be not of a hard and obdurate heart, and resolved not to hear, he can never repent the having once considered our defence, and the attending what is said by us, and whether it be agreeable or no to the Christian religion.

13. For whereas they call us heretics; that is so dreadful a crime, that except it be apparently seen, except it be palpable, and, as it were, to be felt with our hands and fingers, it ought not to be easily believed, that a Christian is or can be guilty of it; for heresy is a renunciation of our salvation, a rejection of the grace of God, and a departure from the body and spirit of Christ. But this was ever the custom and usage of them and of their forefathers; that if any presumed to complain of their errors, and desired the reformation of religion, they condemned them forthwith for heretics, as innovators and factious men. Christ himself was called a Samaritan, for no other cause, but for that they thought he had made a defection to a new religion or heresy. And St. Paul the apostle, being called in question, was accused of heresy, to which he replied, Acts xxiv. 14. After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets.

14. In short, all that religion which we Christians now profess, in the beginning of Christianity was by the pagans called a sect or heresy. With these words they filled the ears of princes, that when, out of prejudice, they had once possessed their minds with an aversion for us, and that they were persuaded, that whatever we said was factious and heretical, they might be diverted from reflecting upon the thing itself, or ever hearing or considering the cause. But by how much the greater and more grievous this crime is, so much the rather ought it to be proved by clear and strong arguments, especially at this time, because men begin now-a-days a little to distrust the fidelity of their oracles, and to inquire into their doctrine with much greater industry than

has heretofore been employed. For the people of God in this age, are quite of another disposition than they were heretofore, when all the responses and dictates of the popes of Rome were taken for gospel, and all religion depended upon their authority. The Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the apostles and prophets are every where now to be had, out of which all the true and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresies may be refuted.

15. But, seeing they can produce nothing out of the Scriptures against us, it is very injurious and cruel to call us heretics, who have not revolted from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor from the prophets. By the sword of Scripture Christ overcame the devil when he was tempted by him; with these weapons every high thing that exalteth itself against God is to be brought down and dispersed, 2 Cor. x. 45. for all Scripture, saith St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 16. is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. And, accordingly, the holy fathers have never fought against heretics with any other arms than what the Scriptures have afforded them. St. Augustine, when he disputed against Petilianus, a Donatist heretic, uses these words, Let not, saith he, these words be heard, "I say," or "Thou sayest," rather let us say, "Thus saith the Lord;" let us seek the church there, let us judge of our cause by that. And St. Jerome saith, Let whatever is pretended to be delivered by the apostles, and cannot be proved by the testimony of the written word, be struck with the sword of God. And St. Ambrose to the emperor Gratian saith, Let the Scriptures, let the apostles, let the prophets, let Christ be interrogated. The catholic fathers and bishops of those times, did not doubt but our religion might be sufficiently proved by Scripture; nor durst they esteem any man a heretic, whose error they could not perspicuously and clearly prove such by Scripture. And as to us, we may truly reply with St. Paul, After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets; or the writings of the apostles.

16. If therefore we be heretics, and they, as they desire to be called, be catholics, why do they not do what they see the fathers and all other catholics have done? Why do they not convince us out of the Holy Scriptures? Why do they not try us by them? Why do they not show that we

have made a defection from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why do they stand? Why do they draw back? It is the cause of God! Why, then, should they fear to commit it to the arbitrement of the word of God? But if we are heretics who submit all our controversies to the Holy Scriptures, and appeal to those very words which we know were consigned to writing by God himself, and prefer them before all other things which can possibly be excogitated by the understanding of man; what are they, or by what name shall they be called, who fear and shun the sentence of the Scriptures, that is, the judgment of God himself, and prefer their own dreams and silly inventions before them, and have for some ages violated the institutions of Christ and his apostles, for the sake of their traditions?* There is a story of Sophocles the tragedian, that when he was very old, he was accused before the judges by his own sons, for a childish and a silly person, as one that had wasted his estate by ill management, and stood in need of a guardian in his old age to take care of him and it: the old man appeared in court, and, instead of a defence, recited a tragedy, Œdipus Coloneus, which he had very elaborately and elegantly written, just at that time, when the suit was depending, and thereupon asked the judges if that poem were the work of a childish person?

17. So we, therefore, because we are taken by them for madmen, and are traduced as if we were heretics, and as if we had nothing to do with Christ, nor with the church of God, have thought it not unreasonable or unprofitable to propound openly and freely the faith in which we stand, and all that hope which we have in Christ Jesus; that all may see what we think of every part of the Christian religion, and so determine with themselves, whether that faith which they must needs perceive to be consonant to the words of Christ and the writings of the apostles, and the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and which is confirmed by the examples of many ages, be only the rage of a sort of madmen, and a combination or conspiracy of heretics.

* In his Defence of the Apology, upon this article Jewell shows that Harding's argument is, "that we have neither Scriptures nor sense of Scriptures but from Rome." Of the Romish interpretations he gives the following example, St. Paul applies Ps. viii. 6—8. to Christ: the Roman sense is far otherwise. "Thou hast made all things subject unto him, that is to say the pope; the cattle of the field, that is to say men living in the earth; the fishes of the sea, that is the souls in purgatory; the birds of the heavens, that is to say the souls of the blessed in heaven." Such interpretations Jewell well denominates unsavory.

THE SECOND PART.

1. We believe, that there is one certain nature and divine power which we call God, and that this is distinguished into three equal persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; all of the same power, of the same majesty, of the same eternity, of the same divinity, and of the same substance. And although these three persons are so distinguished, that the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost or Father, yet there is but one God; and this one God created heaven and earth, and whatever is contained within the circumference of the heavens:

2. We believe, that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as it had been decreed before the beginning of all things, when the fulness of time came, took our flesh and all the nature of man, of that blessed and pure virgin, that he might reveal to men that hidden and secret will of his Father which was concealed from all former ages and generations; and that in this human body he might finish the mystery of our redemption, and might nail to his cross our sins, and the obligation which lay against us. Col. ii. 14.

3. For we believe, that for our sakes He died, was buried, descended into hell, and the third day, by a divine power, returned to life, and arose; and after forty days, in the sight of his disciples, ascended into heaven, that he might fill all things. And that the very body in which he was born, in which he conversed, in which he was despised, in which he had suffered most grievous torments, and a most direful death, in which he rose, and ascended to the right hand of his Father, was placed above all principalities and power, and every name which is mentioned, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, in majesty and glory. And we believe that he doth now sit there, and shall sit there till all things are fulfilled, Acts iii. 21. and although

* This chapter is exhibited in the Harmonia Confessionum, and in the Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum, as the profession of faith of the English church. The latter states, "The English confession of faith is published in the name of the English churches, with the defence of the same, in the works of the great divine, John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury." The Harmonia only gives this chapter of Jewell's Apology, the Corpus adds the thirty-nine articles as passed by the synod in 1562.

the majesty and divinity of Christ is diffused every where, "yet his body," as St. Augustine saith, "ought to be in one place." We believe that though Christ added majesty to his body, yet he took not from it the nature of a body; nor is Christ to be so asserted to be God, that we should deny him to be man; and as the martyr Vigilius said, "Christ left us, as to his human nature, but he hath not left us in his divine nature; and though he is absent from us by the form of a servant, yet he is ever with us by the form of God."

4. And from thence we believe, Christ shall return to exercise a general judgment, as well upon those he shall then find alive, as upon all that are then dead.

5. We believe, that the Holy Ghost, who is the third person in the Holy Trinity, is true God, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both, that is, from the Father and the Son, in a way neither known to mortals, nor possible to be expressed by them. We believe, that it is he who softens the hardness of man's heart, when he is received into their hearts by the saving preaching of the gospel, or by any other way whatsoever; that it is He who enlightens them, and leads them to the knowledge of God, into all the ways of truth, into a perfect newness of life, and a perpetual hope of salvation.

6. We believe, that there is one church of God, and that not confined, as it was heretofore, to the Jewish people, in one angle or kingdom, but that it is CATHOLIC and UNIVERSAL, and so diffused or spread over the face of the whole earth, that there is no nation which can justly complain that it is excluded, and cannot be admitted into the church and people of God. That this church is the kingdom, the body, and spouse of Christ; that Christ is the only prince of this kingdom; that there are in the church divers orders of ministers; that there are some who are deacons, others who are presbyters, and others who are bishops, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religion are committed. And yet that there neither is, nor is it possible there should be, any one man who has the care of this whole catholic church, for Christ is ever present with his church, and needs not a vicar, or sole and perfect successor;* and that no mortal man can in his mind contain all the body of the universal church, that is, all the parts of the earth; much less can he reduce them into an exact order, and rightly and prudently administer its affairs. "That

* The pope claimed to be the vicar general of Christ.

the apostles," as St. Cyprian saith, "were all of equal power and authority, and that all the rest were what St. Peter was; that it was said to all alike, Feed; to all, Go ye into all the world; to all, Teach ye the gospel." And that, as St. Jerome saith, "All bishops, wheresoever they are settled, whether it be at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, they are of equal worth, and of the same priesthood." And as St. Cyprian saith, "There is but one episcopacy, and each of them hath a perfect and entire share of it." And that, according to the judgment and sentence of the council of Nice, the bishop of Rome hath no more authority in the church of God than the other patriarchs, namely the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.* That the bishop of Rome, who now endeavours to draw all the ecclesiastical authority to himself alone, if he doth not his duty, that is, if he does not administer the sacraments, if he does not instruct the people, admonish and teach, he is not to be called a bishop, nor indeed a presbyter; for, as St. Augustine saith, bishop is the name of a work or office, and not a title of honour; so that he who would usurp an unprofitable preeminence in the church is no bishop. But then, that the bishop of Rome, or any other person, should be the head of the whole church, or a universal bishop, is no more possible, than that he should be the Bridegroom, the Light, the Salvation, and the Life of the church; for these are the privileges and titles of Christ alone, and do properly and only belong to him. Nor was there ever any bishop of Rome, who would suffer so insolent and proud a title to be given him, before the times of Phocas the emperor, who, as we very well know, aspired to the empire by a most detestable villany, the murder of Mauritius the former emperor, his sovereign; that is, till the year of Christ 613. That the council of Carthage expressly decreed, that no bishop should be called the highest pontiff or chief priest.† But the bishop of Rome, because he now desires to be so called, and usurps a power which belongs not to him, besides that he acts directly against the ancient councils and the fathers, if he dares believe St. Gregory, one of his own predecessors, he has taken upon him an arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, antichristian

* See the sixth canon of the first council of Nice, held A. D. 325.

† The title of Pontifex Maximus was that of the Roman heathen priests, and cannot properly be rendered into English any other way than by that of priest, it being not of the same nature with the word bishop, yet have the popes of Rome usurped this very heathen title

title, and is therefore the king of pride, Lucifer, one that sets himself above his brethren, who has denied the faith, and is thereby become the forerunner of antichrist.

7. We say that a minister ought to have a lawful call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the church of God, and that no man ought at his own will and pleasure, to intrude into the sacred ministry. So that a very great injury is done us by them, who so frequently affirm, that nothing is done decently and in order by us, but that all things are managed confusedly and disorderly, and that with us, all that will, are priests, teachers, and interpreters.

8. We say that Christ has given to his ministers the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting. And we say, that the power of loosing consists in this, that the minister, by the preaching of the gospel, offers to dejected minds and true penitents, the merits of Christ, and full pardon, and doth assure them of a certain remission of their sins, and the hope of eternal salvation. Or, secondly, he reconciles, restores, and receives into the congregation and unity of the faithful, those penitents, who by any grievous scandal or known and public offence, have offended the minds of their brethren, and, in a sort, alienated and separated themselves from the common society of the church, and the body of Christ. And we say, the minister exercises the power of binding or shutting, when he shutteth the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelievers and obstinate persons, and denounces to them the vengeance of God and eternal punishment; or excludes out of the bosom of the church, those who are publicly excommunicated; and that God himself so far approves whatever sentence his ministers shall so give, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by their ministry here on earth, he will in like manner bind or loose, and confirm, in heaven. The key with which these ministers do shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we say, with St. Chrysostom, is "The knowledge of the Scripture;" with Tertullian, is "The interpretation of the law;" and with Eusebius, is "The word of God." We say the disciples of Christ received this power from him, not that they might hear the private confessions of the people, and catch their whispering murmurs, as the popish priests* every where now do; and that in such a manner as if all the force and use of the keys consisted only in this. But that

* Or priestlings, (sacrificuli) young or ignorant priests. Every Romish priest is empowered to grant absolution.

they might go and preach and publish the gospel, that so they might be a savour of life unto life, to them that did believe; and that they might be also a savour of death unto death, to those that did not believe. That the minds of the pious, who were affrighted with the sense of their former ill lives and errors, after they beheld the light of the gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the word of God, as doors are with a key; and that the wicked and stubborn, who would not believe and return into the way, might be left, shut up, and locked, and, as St. Paul expresses it, 2 Tim. iii. 13. might wax worse and worse. This we take to be the meaning of the keys, and that in this manner the consciences of men are either bound or loosed. We say that the priest is a judge; but then we say, with St. Ambrose, that he has not the right of any dominion; and therefore Christ reprehended the scribes and pharisees with these words, that he might reprove their negligence in teaching, Matt. xxiii. 13. Luke xi. 52. Woe unto you scribes and pharisees; for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. Seeing then that the key by which a passage is opened for us into the kingdom of heaven, is the word of the gospel, and the interpretation of the law and the Scriptures; where there is no such word, there is no key. And seeing that the same word was given to all, and the key which pertains to all, is but one; we say that the power of all ministers, as to binding and loosing, is one and the same. And we say, that even the pope himself, notwithstanding his flatterers do so sweetly soothe him up with these words, Matt. xvi. 19. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, as if they belonged to him, and to no other mortal under heaven; except he makes it his business to bend and subdue the consciences of men to the word of God; we deny that even he, as I said, can either open or shut, or hath at all the keys; and although he doth teach and instruct the people, which I wish he would sometimes do truly, and at last be persuaded to believe it is at least some part of his duty and office; but yet if he did so, his key would be neither better nor greater than that of others; for who made that difference? who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully, than his brethren?

9. We say, that marriage is honourable and holy in all degrees of men, in patriarchs, in prophets, in apostles, in holy martyrs, in the ministers of the churches, and in the bishops;

and that, as St. Chrysostom saith, "It is both lawful and just that he should ascend the episcopal throne with it;" and we say, as Sozomen did of Spiridion, and Nazianzen did of his own father, that "A pious and industrious bishop is nothing the worse for being married, but rather much the better, and more useful in his ministry." And we say that the law which by force takes away this liberty from men, and ties them to a single life against their wills, is as St. Paul styles it, The doctrine of devils, 1 Tim. iv. 1. and that from hence, as is confessed by the bishop of Augusta, Faber, the abbot of Palermo, Latomus, the tripartite work, which is joined to the second volume of the councils, and other defenders of the papal party, and which is apparent from the thing itself, also confessed by all histories, an incredible impurity of life and manners, and horrible debaucheries in the ministers of God, have sprung and arisen; so that Pius II. bishop of Rome,* was not out, when he said, "He saw many causes why the clergy should be denied wives, but he saw more and greater causes to allow them wives again."

10. We receive and embrace all the canonical Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; and we give our gracious God most hearty thanks, that he hath set up this light for us, which we ever fix our eyes upon, lest by human fraud, or the snares of the devil, we should be seduced to errors or fables. We own them to be the heavenly voices by which God hath revealed and made known his will to us. In them only can the mind of man acquiesce; in them all that is necessary for our salvation is abundantly and plainly contained, as Origen, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril, have taught us. They are the very might and power of God unto salvation; they are the foundations of the apostles and prophets, upon which the church of God is built; they are the most certain and infallible rule by which the church may be reduced, if she happen to stagger, slip, or err; by which all ecclesiastical doctrines ought to be tried. No law, no tradition, no custom, is to be received or continued, if it be contrary to Scripture; no, though St. Paul himself, or an angel from heaven, should come and teach otherwise, Gal. i. 8.

11. We receive also, and allow the sacraments of the church, that is, the sacred signs and ceremonies which Christ commanded us to use, that he might by them represent to our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and most strongly con-

* A. D. 1458.

firm the faith we have in his blood, and seal in our hearts his grace. And we call them figures, signs, types, antitypes, forms, seals, prints or signets, similitudes, examples, images, remembrances, and memorials; with Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and Dionysius, and many other catholic fathers. Nor do we doubt, with them to call the sacraments a kind of visible words, the signets of righteousness and the symbols of grace, and clearly affirm, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the body and blood of our Lord is truly exhibited to believers; that is, the enlivening flesh of the Son of God; the bread that comes from above, the nourishment of immortality, the grace, the truth, and the life. And that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, by the participation of which we are quickened, strengthened, and fed to immortality; and by which we are conjoined, united, and incorporated with Christ, that we may remain in him, and he in us.

12. We acknowledge that there are two sacraments, properly so called—baptism and the eucharist (or supper of the Lord); for so many we see were delivered to us, and consecrated by Christ, and approved by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and the ancient fathers.

13. And we say that baptism is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ, and that none who will profess the faith of Christ are to be denied that sacrament; nor the infants of Christians, because they are born in sin, and belong to the people of God.*

14. We say that the eucharist is the sacrament or visible symbol of the body and blood of Christ, in which the death and resurrectirn of Christ, and what he did in his human body, is in a manner represented to our eyes, that we may give him thanks for his death, and our deliverance by it. And that, by frequenting the sacrament, we may often renew the remembrance of it; and that by the body and blood of Christ we may be nourished into the hope of the

* The following remark in his reply to Harding on this article merits attention. "The fathers, in their treatises of the sacraments, sometimes use the outward sign instead of the thing itself that is signified, sometimes they use the thing signified instead of the sign.—Notwithstanding indeed, and in precise manner of speech, salvation must be sought in Christ alone, and not in any outward signs."

resurrection, and of eternal life; and that we may be assured that the body and blood of Christ hath the same effect in the feeding of our souls, which the bread and wine have in repairing the decays of our bodies. To this great and solemn feast the people are to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and may publicly signify and testify, both their union and society among themselves, and that hope which they have in Christ Jesus. And therefore if there were any one heretofore, before the private mass was introduced, who would be only a spectator, and yet would abstain from the holy communion, the bishops of Rome in the primitive times, and the ancient fathers, would have excommunicated him as a wicked man and a pagan; nor was there any Christian man in those times, who communicated alone in the presence of others who were only spectators. So Calixtus* long since decreed, that when the consecration was finished, all should communicate if they would not be deprived of the communion of the church, and be shut out of it; for so, saith he, the apostles ordained, and the holy church of Rome holds. And we say, that both the parts of the sacrament ought to be given to those that come to the holy communion; for so Christ commanded, and the apostles instituted throughout the world, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops so practised; "And if any one shall do otherwise," saith Gelasius, "he commits sacrilege:" and therefore our adversaries, who, exploding and rejecting the communion, defend the private mass and a multitude† of sacraments, without the authority of the word of God, without any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, and without reason; and this against the express command of Christ, and also against all antiquity—in so doing, act wickedly and sacrilegiously.

15. We say, that the bread and wine are the holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ; and that in them Christ himself, the true bread of eternal life, is so exhibited to us as present, that we do by faith truly take his body and blood; and yet at the same time we speak not this so as if we thought the nature of the bread and wine were totally changed and abolished, as many in the last ages have dreamed, and as yet could never agree among themselves about this dream. For neither did

* Or Anacletus, bishop of Rome, A. D. 102.

† In some copies it is "defend the mutilation of the sacrament."

Christ ever design that the wheaten bread should change its nature, and assume a new kind of divinity, but rather that it might change us; and that, as Theophylact saith, "we might be transelemented into his body;" for what can be more perspicuous than what St. Ambrose saith on this occasion; "The bread and wine are what they were, and yet are changed into another thing?" or what Gelasius saith; "The substance of the bread and nature of the wine do not cease to be?" or than what Theodoret; "After the consecration of the mystical symbols, they do not cast off their own proper nature, for they remain in their former substance, and figure, and species?" or than what St. Augustine saith; "That which you see is bread, and a cup, as your eyes inform you; but that which your faith desires to be instructed in is this, the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood?" or than that of Origen; "That bread which is consecrated by the word of God, as to the matter of it, goes into the belly, and is cast out by the draught?" or than that of Christ himself, who said, not only after the consecration, but after the finishing of the communion, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine?" Luke xxii. 18. for it is certain the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood. And yet when we speak thus, we do not so depress the esteem of the supper of the Lord, as to teach that it is a mere cold ceremony, and that nothing is done in it, which many falsely report of us; for we assert that Christ in his sacraments doth exhibit himself truly present. In baptism, that we may put him on; in his supper that we may eat him by faith and in the spirit; and that by his cross and blood we may have life eternal. And this, we say, is not slightly and coldly, but really and truly done: for although we do not touch Christ with our teeth and lips, yet we hold and press him by faith, mind, and spirit. Nor is that faith vain which embraces Christ, nor that participation cold which is perceived by the mind, understanding, and spirit; for so Christ himself is entirely offered and given to us in these mysteries, as much as is possible, that we may truly know that we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and that he dwells in us, and we in him, John vi. 56.

16. And therefore in the celebration of these mysteries, before we come to receive the holy communion, the people are fitly admonished to lift up their hearts, and that they should direct their minds to heaven, for there He is, by whom we are to be fed and live. And St. Cyril saith, That in

partaking of the holy mysteries, all gross imaginations are to be excluded. And the Nicene council, as it is cited by some in Greek, expressly forbids us to think only on the bread and wine that are set before us. And, as St. Chrysostom writes well; "We say that the body of Christ is the carcass, and we are to be the eagles, that thereby we may learn to mount aloft, if we will approach the body of Christ; for this is the table of eagles, and not of jays." And St. Cyprian; "This bread is the meat of the soul, and not of the belly." And St. Augustine; "How shall I lay hold on Him who is absent? How shall I reach my hand into the heavens, and touch him who sits there? Send thy faith thither, and thou hast him sure?"

17. But then as to the fairs and sales of masses, and the carrying about and adoring the bread, and a number of such-like idolatrous and blasphemous follies, which none of them dare affirm to have been delivered to us by Christ or his apostles, our church will not endure them. And we justly blame the bishops of Rome for presuming, without any command of God, without any authority of the holy fathers, and without any example, not only to propose the sacramental bread to be adored by the people with a divine worship, but also to carry it about before them upon an ambling nag wherever they go, as the Persian kings did heretofore their sacred fire, and the Egyptians their image of Isis.* So they have turned the sacraments of Christ into pageantry and pomp; that, in the very thing in which the death of Christ was to be celebrated and inculcated, and the mysteries of our redemption ought to be piously and reverently represented, the eyes of men should only be fed with a foolish show, and a piece of ludicrous levity. And then, whereas they say, and sometimes persuade fools, that they can by their masses distribute and apply to men, who very often think of nothing less, and never know what is then doing, all the merits of the death of Christ; this pretence, I say, is ridiculous, heathenish, and silly, for it is our faith which applies the death and cross of Christ to us, and not the action of a priest. "The faith of the sacraments," saith St. Augustine, "justifies, and not the sacrament." And Origen saith, "He (Christ) is the priest and the propitiation,

* "All this strange solemn festival guise pope Urban the fourth learned, not of Christ or Paul, but only by the revelation of dame Eva the anchoress, and by her good advice founded the new feast of Corpus Christi, and caused the sacrament to be borne about in procession." *Defence of the Apology.*

and the sacrifice; and that propitiation comes to every one by way of faith." And, therefore, agreeably hereunto, we say that the sacraments of Christ do not profit the living without faith, and much less the dead; for as to what they pretend concerning their purgatory, though that is no very late invention, yet it is nothing but a silly old wives' story. St. Augustine sometimes saith there is such a place; sometimes he doth not deny but there may be such a place; sometimes he doubts if there be; and at other times he positively denies there is any such place at all, and thinks that men, out of humane kindness to the dead, are deceived in that point. And yet from this one error there has sprung such a crop of small priests, that, masses being publicly and openly sold in every corner, they have turned the churches of God into mere shops, and deluded poor mortals into a belief that there was no commodity more useful; and, certainly, as to those small Levites, these masses were very advantageous.*

18. We know that St. Augustine grievously complained of the vast number of impertinent ceremonies in his time, and we have cut off a great many of them because we know they were afflictive to the consciences of men, and

* Strype, in his Memorials, III. p. 1. c. xii. gives a description of the Romish priests restored to their cures in the days of queen Mary. He says, "Thus was the church now plentifully furnished with ignorant and scandalous priests. And being placed in their respective parishes, they did not seldom quarrel with their parishioners for chrisoms, candles, purification pence, eggs on Good Friday, the four offerings, dirge groats, and the like. For that (four pence) was the usual reward for singing a mass for a soul. And sometimes in lieu of that groat, they had a peck of wheat, or a cheese, or a pudding given them." Pilkington says, "If there be a trental to be said, or any money to be gotten for masses, dirges, relics, pardons, &c. who then is so ready as they? They can smell it out a great many miles off. But if a man want comfort in conscience, would understand his duty towards God, or God's goodness towards us, they are blind, ignorant, unlearned, and can say nothing, but make holy water, and bid them say a lady psalter."

From some receipts given by priests, for money received for saying masses to deliver souls out of purgatory, printed in the Protestant, III. p. 125, it appears that the price in Ireland not long since was from one to two shillings each mass. In Portugal the price was lower. Difficulties have arisen from the circumstance "that more money may be received for masses in a day than can be said in a month." Gavin, in his Master Key, explains that this was got over by a privilege from the pope, by which one mass was made to have as much efficacy as if the service had been repeated an hundred times. "There are no limits to the number of masses which a soul may require, but the limits of the purses of surviving friends." The doctrine of purgatory, it is manifest, was derived from the ancient heathen.

burdensome to the church of God. Yet we still retain and religiously use, not only all those which we know were delivered to the church by the apostles, but some others which it appeared to us might be borne without inconvenience to the church, because, as St. Paul commands, we desire all things in the religious assemblies should be done decently and in order. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. But then, as to all those that were very superstitious, or cold, or base, or ridiculous, or contrary to the Scriptures, or did not seem to befit sober men, an infinite number of which are now to be found among papists; we have rejected all these, I say, without exception, because we would not have the service of God any longer contaminated with such fooleries.

19. We pray, as it is fit we should, in that tongue which our people do all understand, that the people, as St. Paul admonishes, may reap a common advantage by the common prayers, as all the holy fathers, and catholic bishops, not only in the Old, but in the New Testament also, did ever pray, and teach the people to pray, lest, as St. Augustine saith, "We should, like parrots, and other prating birds, seem to sound words which we did not understand."

20. We have no mediator and intercessor by whom we approach to God the Father but Jesus Christ; in whose name only, all things are obtained. But that which we see done in their churches is base and heathenish; not only because they have set up an infinite number of intercessors, without any authority of the word of God; so that, as Jeremiah saith, According to the number of thy cities so are thy gods, Jer. ii. 28. xi. 13. and miserable men know not which to apply themselves to—and though they are innumerable, yet they have ascribed to each of them their office, and what was to be obtained, had, and received from each of them—but also because they have not only impiously, but impudently, solicited the virgin Mary that she would remember she is a mother; that she would be pleased to command her Son; and that she would make use of the authority she hath over him.

21. We say that man is born in sin and leadeth his life in sin, and that no man can truly say his heart is clean; that the most holy man is an unprofitable servant; that the law of God is perfect, and requires of us a full and perfect obedience; and that we cannot in any way keep it perfectly in this life; and that there is no mortal who can be justified in the sight of God by his own deserts; and therefore our

only refuge and safety is in the mercy of God the Father, by Jesus Christ, and in the assuring ourselves that he is the propitiation for our sins, by whose blood all our stains are washed out; that he has pacified all things by the blood of his cross; that he by that only sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, hath perfected all things; and therefore, when he breathed out his soul, he said, IT IS FINISHED; as if by these words he would signify, Now the price is paid for the sins of mankind.

22. If there be any who think that this sacrifice is not sufficient, let them go and find out a better; but as for us, because we know this is the only sacrifice, we are contented with it alone, nor do we expect any other; and because it was only once to be offered, we do not enjoin the repetition of it; and because it was full and perfect in all its members and parts, we do not substitute for it the perpetual successions of our own sacrifices.

23. Though we say there is no trust to be put in the merits of our works and actions, and place all the hopes and reason of our salvation only in Christ; yet we do not therefore say, that men should live loosely and dissolutely, as if to be baptized and profess belief were sufficient for a Christian, and there were nothing more required from him. The true faith is a living faith, and cannot be idle; therefore we teach the people, that God hath not called us to luxury and disorder, but, as St. Paul saith, Unto good works, that we might walk in them, Eph. ii. 10. That God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, that we might serve the living God, Col. i. 13. That we should root up all the relics of sin; that we should work out our salvation with fear and trembling, Phil. ii. 12. that it might appear that the spirit of sanctification was in us, and that Christ himself dwelleth in our hearts by faith.

24. To conclude; we believe that this body of ours in which we live, though after death it turns to dust, yet in the last day it shall return to life again, by the Spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us; and that then, whatever we suffer for Christ in the interim, he shall wipe away all tears from our eyes, and that then, through him, we shall enjoy everlasting life, and be always with him in glory. Amen.

THE THIRD PART.

These are the horrible heresies for which a considerable part of the world at this day are condemned by the pope, unheard. It had been better to have entered a contest with Christ, the apostles and holy fathers; for it was they, who did not only give a beginning to these doctrines, but commanded them; unless they of the church of Rome will say, as perhaps they will, that Christ did not institute the holy communion that it might be distributed amongst the faithful; or that the apostles of Jesus Christ, or the ancient fathers, said private masses in all the corners of their churches; sometimes ten, and at others twenty in one day. Or that Christ and the apostles deprived the people of the cup; or that what they now do, (and with such eagerness, that whoever will not comply with them in it, is by them condemned for a heretic,) is not called sacrilege by Gelasius, one of their own popes. Or that these are not the words of Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Origen, "That the bread and wine in the sacrament remain what they were before; that what is seen on the holy table is bread; that the substance of the bread does not cease to be, nor the nature of the wine; that the substance and nature of the bread is not changed; that this very bread, as to what concerns the matter of it, goes down into the belly, and is cast out by the draught." Or that Christ and his apostles, and the fathers, did not pray in that tongue which was understood by the people. Or that Christ, by that one oblation which he once offered, hath not perfected the work of our redemption; or that this sacrifice was so imperfect that we need another. Either they must say all these things, or else they must aver, which, perhaps, they had rather say, that all right and justice is inclosed in the cabinet of the pope's breast; and, as one of his followers and flatterers once said, that he may dispense against the apostles, against the councils, and against the apostolical canons; and that he is not bound by those examples, institutions, and laws of Christ.*

* In his defence of the apology, Jewell quotes many Romish authorities to this effect. One says, "The pope may dispense for any commandment of the Old or New Testament." Another, "The pope, of wrong may make right."

2. Thus we have been taught by Christ, by the apostles and holy fathers; and we do faithfully teach the people of God the same things, and for so doing we are called heretics, by the great leader and prince of religion. What! have Christ and his apostles, and so many fathers, all erred? What! are Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoret, apostates from the catholic faith? Was the consent of so many bishops and learned men nothing but a conspiracy of heretics? Or that which was commendable in them, is it now blameable in us? And that which was catholic in them, is it, by a change in the wills of men, become schismatical in us? Or that which was once true, is it now, because it displeases them, become false? Let them, then, produce a new gospel; or, at least, set forth their reasons why those things which were so long publicly observed and approved in the church, ought now at last to be recalled. We know that the word which was revealed by Christ, and propagated by the apostles, is sufficient to promote our salvation and all truth, and to convince all heresies. Out of it alone, we condemn all sorts of ancient heresies, which they pretend we have recalled from the bottom of hell, and pronounce the Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, Ebionites, the Valentinians, Carpocratians, Tatians, and Novatians; and, in one word, all those who have thought impiously either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other part of the Christian religion; all these, I say, because they are convicted by the gospel of Christ, we pronounce them wicked and lost men, and detest them to the gates of hell; and not only so, but if any of those heresies happen to break out anew amongst us, we severely and seriously correct the revivers of them with lawful and civil punishments.*

3. We confess, that, upon the beginning of the Reformation, there arose some new and unheard-of sects; but we render our unfeigned thanks to God, that the world is now well satisfied, that we neither brought forth, nor taught, nor maintained those monsters. Whoever thou art who thinkest otherwise, be pleased to read our books, which are every where to be had. What is there in them that can fairly be

* Jewell appears to have estimated some of these sects according to the false accounts given of them by the church of Rome, rather than by their real sentiments, particularly the Novatians. The "severe and serious correction" here spoken of, happily has since been done away. It was a remnant of popery, of which the Reformers found great difficulty in divesting themselves.

taken to favour the madness of these people? Yea, there are at this day no nations so free from these pests as those in which the gospel is freely taught. Now, if they would rightly and attentively consider this thing, it is a strong argument that the doctrine we teach is the very truth of the gospel; for neither tares nor chaff use to spring up or be found, but in corn. And who knows not what a number of heresies arose when the gospel was first propagated in the world, in the times of the very apostles? Who before those times ever heard of Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucian, and Severus? But why should I mention this contemptible number? Epiphanius reckons eighty, and Augustine more, distinct heresies, which grew up with the gospel. What then? Was not the gospel the gospel, because together with it so many heresies were produced? Or shall we therefore say that Christ was not Christ?

4. And yet, as I said, this accursed crop has not sprung up in our fields, where the gospel is freely preached, and publicly received and settled. Those plagues have had their rise in the darkness and blindness of our adversaries; and with them too they have increased and spread themselves, where the truth is oppressed with tyranny and cruelty; nor are these things to be heard of any where but in corners and secret assemblies. Let them make a trial; let them grant the gospel its free course; let the truth of Jesus Christ freely shine and extend its rays to all parts without hindrance, and they shall soon see, that as the darkness of the night vanishes at the approach of the sun, so will these shadows disappear before the light of the gospel. For as for us, we daily make it our business to repel and confute these heresies, which we are falsely reported to nourish and encourage, while our adversaries sit still, and mind nothing less.

5. And whereas they say we are divided into divers sects, and that some of us have taken the name of Lutherans, and others of Zuinglians, and we could never yet agree among ourselves concerning the sum of our doctrines; what would they have said if they had lived in the times of the apostles and holy fathers? when one said, I am of Paul, another, I am of Cephas; and another, I am of Apollos: when St. Paul reprehended St. Peter: when, by reason of a quarrel, Paul and Barnabas separated one

from the other, and went several ways. When, as Origen acquaints us, the Christians were divided into so many factions, that they had no name common to them but that of Christian, and they agreed in nothing else but that name; and, as Socrates informs us, they were derided publicly in the theatres by the people for their dissensions and sects; and when, as Constantine the great said, "There were so many contentions and controversies in the church, that this very single calamity seemed to exceed the miseries of the former times" of persecution. When Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ruffinus, and Jerome, all of them Christians, all fathers, and all catholics, contested with each other with most bitter and implacable animosity; when, as Nazianzen saith, "The members of the same body consumed one another." When the eastern and western churches were divided from each other about leavened bread, and the time of keeping Easter—things of no mighty consequence. When in every council, which were then numerous, there was a new creed, and new and contrary decrees minted. What would these men have then said? to whom would they have applied themselves? from whom would they have fled? in what gospel would they have believed? whom would they have esteemed catholics, and whom heretics? Now there are only two names, Luther and Zuinglius; and what a noise is made about them! But because these two men could not agree about a certain point, shall we therefore think they are both in the wrong, that neither of them has the gospel, and that neither has preached well and truly?

6. But, who are they that so bitterly reflect on us for our dissensions? Do they in the mean time all agree among themselves? Have there never been any dissensions and controversies among them? Why then do the Scotists and Thomists agree no better concerning the merit of congruity and that of condignity; concerning original sin in the virgin Mary; and about a solemn and simple vow? Why do the canonists affirm that auricular confession is founded on human and positive laws; and the schoolmen, on the contrary, on divine institution? Why does Albertus Pighius differ from Cajetan; Thomas from Lombard; Scotus from Thomas; Occham from Scotus; Alliacensis from Occham; and the Nominals from the Realists? And that I may not mention the disagreements of the small brotherhoods and monks, some of which place their admired sanctity in eating

of fish, others in living upon herbs; some in wearing of shoes, others in sandals; some in linen garments, and others in woollen; some in black, and some in white clothes; some shave their heads broad, and others narrow; some wear shoes, and others go barefoot; some are girded, and some go loose; besides these, they should remember that some of their divines say, that the body of Christ is naturally present in the sacrament, which is again denied by others. There also are some who say, that the body of Christ in the sacrament is torn and ground with our teeth, and again there are others who deny this; there are some who say, that the body in the sacrament hath quantity, others deny it; some say, Christ did consecrate by a certain divine power, others that he did it by his blessing; some, that he did it by conceiving the five words in his mind, others that it was by uttering them. There are some that say, that of these five words the demonstrative pronoun "this" showed the wheaten bread, others say no; but it relates to a certain "individuum vagum" (a no man knows what.) There are some who say, "Dogs and mice may truly and really eat the body of Christ;" but then there are others who stoutly deny this. There are some who say the accidents of the bread and wine can nourish, and others say the substance returns again. But why should I add any more? it is a long and troublesome business to count up all their divisions; the whole form of this religion and doctrine is to this day controverted and uncertain among those who first gave being and entertainment to it; for they scarcely ever agree, except it be as the pharisees and sadducees, or as Herod and Pilate did of old, against Christ.*

7. Let them go, then, and put an end to their own quarrels. Unity and agreement do excellently become religion; yet it is no certain and proper sign of the church of God; for there was a wonderful agreement among those who worshipped the golden calf; and among those who with one voice cried out against our Saviour, Crucify him! crucify him! Nor are we hastily to determine, that because

* The reader will find in Mosheim further accounts of these differences of opinion among the members of the Romish church. Jewell says, "One of your doctors of Louvain tells us in good sadness, by report of one of the Jesuits, that in India holy water is very wholesome to drive away mice, and for barren women. I feign not this matter, the place may be seen." (Copus dial. i. p. 18.) *Defence of the Apology.* For the Romish opinion of a mouse's eating the consecrated host, see Ann Askew's examinations in Fox.

there were some dissensions in the church of Corinth; or because St. Paul differed with St. Peter, or Barnabas with St. Paul; or because the Christians, in the infancy of the church, disagreed among themselves concerning some things, that therefore there was no church of God among them. Those very men whom they contemptuously call Lutherans and Zuinglians, are both parties of them Christians, friends each to the others, and brethren. They do not disagree about the principles and foundations of our religion, concerning God, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost; nor concerning the manner of our justification, or of eternal life. It is only about one point, and that of no great consequence; nor do we despair, or rather, we do not so much as doubt, but that in a small time an agreement will be made betwixt them. And though there are some who now think otherwise than they ought, we hope that, laying aside all passions and factious names and reproaches, God will reveal to them what they now know not, and having better considered and searched into the thing, as it happened heretofore in the council of Chalcedon,* all the causes and fibres of dissensions shall be plucked up by the roots, and buried in eternal oblivion. Amen.

8. But the most insufferable of all their slanders is their pretence that we are impious men, and have cast off all care of religion. But this is the less to be regarded, because they who make this objection do themselves know, that it is contumelious and false. And Justin Martyr writes also, that when the gospel was first published, and the name of Christ discovered to the world, that all Christians were then styled Atheous; that is, men without a God, or atheists. And when the holy Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, stood before the tribunal, the rabble incited the proconsul to the slaughter and destruction of all those who professed the gospel, with these words, Exterminate out of the world those wicked men that have no God. Not that the Christians had indeed no God, but because they would not adore the stones and blocks which were then worshipped as gods. But the world now sees plainly that we and ours have suffered from them, for the sake of God and our religion. They have cast us into gaols, and fire, and water, and have rolled themselves in our blood, not because we are adulterers, or thieves, or murderers, but purely because we embrace the gospel of Jesus Christ, and put our whole trust only in the living God;

* The fourth general council, held A. D. 451.

and because we truly and justly complain that they have, for their most impertinent traditions, violated the laws of God; and that these enemies of ours, who knowingly and willingly despise the commandments of God, are the haters of the gospel, and the enemies of the cross of Christ.

9. Now these men, when they saw they could fix no slanders upon our doctrine, then they began to declaim against our manners; that we hated all good works, that we made way for disorder and luxury, and drove the people off from all care and exercise of virtue. And certainly the lives of all men, even those of the most holy and Christian men, now are, and ever were, even in the best and most chaste state of things, liable to some exceptions on that account. And such is the propensity of men to do ill on the one side, and the proneness of all to suspicion on the other, that many things, which were never done or thought of, have yet been pretended to be heard, and have obtained a belief too; and as a small spot is easily seen in a very white garment, so in the purest course of life, the slightest note of turpitude or disorder is easily taken notice of. Nor do we think ourselves, or all those who have embraced the Reformation, to be angels, and to live without the least speck or unevenness; or that those who hate us are so blind, that they cannot observe whatever is blameable in us, even through the smallest chink; or that they are so candid, that they will put a mild sense upon any thing, or so ingenuous, that they will at any time turn their eyes upon themselves, and estimate or compare our manners with their own. But then if we should here run the thing up to the fountain-head, we know that in the apostles' times there were Christians who made the name of God to be blasphemed and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

10. Constantius the emperor complains, in Sozomen, that many, after they entered the Christian church, became worse than they were before. And St. Cyprian, in a mournful oration, describes the corruption of his own times; "Ease and a long peace," saith he, "had destroyed that discipline which the apostles delivered to us. Men were intent upon the enlarging their estates; and forgetting what believers did under the apostles, and what they ever ought to do, they applied themselves with an insatiable appetite to the improvement of their fortunes. There is not now that devout piety in the priests, that sincere faith in the ministers, that compassion in works of mercy, that restraint in men's manners; men colour their beards, and women paint their

faces." And before him Tertullian said; "Oh! wo to us who are now called Christians; for we live the lives of heathens under that venerable title."

11. To conclude, and not to trouble the reader with many authors, Gregory Nazianzen speaks thus of the deplorable state of his own times: "We are hated by the heathens now for our vices, and we are made a spectacle, not only to men and angels, but to the wickedest of men." This was the state of the church of God when the light of the gospel began first to shine upon it, when the fury of tyrants was not yet assuaged, or the sword diverted from the necks of the Christians; in truth, it is no wonder that men are men, though they are called Christians.

THE FOURTH PART.

1. But, whilst these men so bitterly reflect upon us, why do they not sometimes think what they themselves are? Are they who have so much leisure to attend to what is done at a distance in Germany and England, so forgetful or so blind, that they cannot see what is done at Rome? Are we to be impeached by those whose lives are so dissolute, that no honest, modest man can without blushing tell their story?

2. We do not now intend to bring to light all those villanies which may be much better buried with them; it becomes neither our religion, nor our modesty and shamefacedness. And yet he that will needs be called the vicar of Jesus Christ, and the head of the church, may easily consider with himself, what those things are which he hears and sees, and suffers to be done at Rome; for we will go no further in giving an account of what they are. Let him make use of his own memory; let him be pleased to consider that they are his own canonists, who have taught the people, that simple fornication is no sin, as if they had learned from the heathen comedian* this doctrine, that it is not a sin in a young man. Let him consider they are his

* The Mitio of Terence. The demoralizing effects of the unguarded study of many classic authors, has often been exposed very properly and in strong terms. The same effects, in fact, must result from the perusal of many of the Romish canonists and casuists, and even in some degree from the directions preparatory to confession, contained in their most popular prayer books.

own again, who have determined that a priest is not to be deposed for fornication. Let him remember that cardinal Campeggio, Albertus Pighius, and many other of his lawyers, have taught, that the priest who keeps a concubine, lives much more chastely and holily than he who has a lawful wife.* I hope he hath not forgotten that there are at Rome many thousands of public licensed harlots, and that the pope levies upon them yearly, by way of tax, thirty thousand ducats. He cannot forget, surely, that he himself is a public pimp, and from this base profit doth dishonourably and wickedly increase his revenues and pleasures. Were all things well and holy at Rome, when pope Joan, a woman of dissolute life, was the head of their church, and when for two years she had in that holy see prostituted herself, at length, in a public procession, in the presence of all the cardinals and bishops, in the open street she brought forth a child?†

3. But why should we mention their dissolute lives? for these are common and public crimes at Rome, and not unprofitable either, for the harlots there do not sit without the gates with their faces veiled and covered, as in ancient times, but they dwell in palaces and stately houses, and pass to and fro in the most public streets without masks, as if their trade were not only lawful, but honourable. But why should I use many words? their lusts are sufficiently known to the

* Jewell, in his defence, says, "What need we many words in so clear a case? The whole practice of your church, M. Harding, professeth the same. If a priest marry a wife, ye suspend him, ye excommunicate him, ye deprive him; ye disquiet and trouble the whole church. But if he keep a concubine, one, two, or more, ye are then contented, and ready, not only to dissemble it, but also with favour to excuse it."

In the Rhemish testament, ed. 1582, a note upon 1 Cor. vii. 9. states, "We say also, concerning others lawfully made priests, and such as otherwise have made vow of chastity, they cannot marry at all, and therefore there is *no comparison in them* betwixt marriage and fornication, or burning. For their marriage is but pretended, and is the worst sort of incontinency and fornication, or burning."

An authorization by Romish divines of eminence is prefixed to that edition of the work; they approve it as containing nothing which is not "consentaneous to piety, and the doctrine of the catholic church!"

† See Jewell's defence of the apology for authorities on that subject, and others treated in this chapter. The existence of a female pope has been much controverted, and by many historians is considered doubtful. The account here given of pope Joan, has, however, been admitted by more than sixty Romish authors, among them some of the popes themselves. She is said to have lived about the year 850; and is designated in the list of popes as John vii. or viii.

whole earth. St. Bernard writes thus truly and freely of the pope's family and the pope himself: "Your court receives good men sometimes, but it makes none good: evil men thrive there; good men are ruined." And whoever he was who wrote the tripartite work, which is commonly joined to the Lateran council, he saith thus: "There is now so prevailing a luxury, not only in the inferior clergy and priests, but also in the prelates and bishops, that it strikes horror into the hearers of it."

But these things are not only usual, and even for the sake of the custom approved, as most of their vices are, but they are now become so well known by their long use, that they are putrid, ripe for judgment. For who has not heard what Petrus Aloisius, the son of Paul III. designed against Cosmus Cherius, bishop of Fano? What John Casa, archbishop of Benevento, the pope's legate at Venice, wrote of a sin to be abhorred, whilst with most filthy eloquence and abominable words, he commends what ought not to be named? Who knows not that Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard, was sent from Rome into Germany on purpose to murder the most innocent and holy man, John Diazius, his own brother, only because he had embraced the gospel, and would not return to Rome—which he accordingly did?* But they may pretend, perhaps, that such things as these are may sometimes happen in the best constituted governments, and that there are excellent laws against them.

5. Be it so; but what law passed upon these pests? Petrus Aloisius, when he had attempted the villany I have hinted at, was ever after in the bosom of Paul III. his father and his joy. Diazius, after he had assassinated his brother, was delivered out of the hands of the law by the interposition of the pope. Johannes Casa, archbishop of Benevento, is yet alive, and at Rome, and lives under the eyes and in the sight of his holiness! They have slain infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they truly and purely believed in Jesus Christ; but then of that infinite number of harlots, sodomites, and adulterers, whom have they at any time, I will not say slain, but excommunicated, or so much as touched? What! are their crimes no sins at Rome? or if they be, why are they so easily borne, as if they were not sins in the city of Rome, that bulwark of sanctity, and by the pope "the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, that most holy father?"

* For the account of this fratricide, which was committed in 1546, see McCrie's Reformation in Spain, chap. V.

6. Oh holy scribes and pharisees! to whom this sanctity was never known! Oh sanctity and catholic faith! St. Peter did never teach these things at Rome, nor St. Paul live there at this rate. They did not publicly exercise such trade; they took no tribute of the harlots; they did not openly and freely tolerate adulterers and parricides; they did not admit them into their bosoms, their families, their councils, nor into the congregations of Christian men. These men ought not to have aggravated so much the faults of our lives: it had been much better to have approved their own to the world, or at least to have concealed them a little more from the eyes of men.

7. For, as for us, we retain and use our ancient paternal laws, and administer church discipline, seriously and diligently, as far as we possibly can, in so much corruption of all things, both as to manners and times. We have no stews, nor herds of harlots and concubines; nor do we prefer adulteries before marriage; nor do we exercise pimping, nor raise money from harlots; neither do we suffer incests and flagitious lusts; our Aloisius's, or our Casa's, or our parricidical murdering Diazio's, do not go unpunished. For if these things had pleased us, there had been no occasion of separating from the society of those men, where these (rare) things flourish, and are in great esteem; and so we had also escaped the hatred of men, and the apparent dangers we have run into by our departure from them. It is not many months since Paul IV. had some monks of the Augustine order in prison at Rome, and many bishops, and a vast number of pious men, for the sake of religion. He exercised his tortures and his racks, and left nothing untried, and at the last how many men of wicked and dissolute life did he find amongst them? Blessed be God, though we are not what we should be, nor what we profess to be, yet whatever we are, if we be compared with these, our very lives and innocency will easily confute all their slanders. For we excite the people not only by books and sermons, but by example and good manners, to all sorts of virtues and good works. We teach, that the gospel is not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life, and that, as Tertullian expresses it, "A Christian should not speak great things, but live them; and that not the hearers, but the doers of the law shall be justified before God," Rom. ii. 13.

8. To all these things they commonly add, and amplify it too with all manner of reproaches, that we are a turbulent sort of men; that we snatch the sceptres out of the

hands of princes, arm the people against them, subvert their judicatories and courts of justice, and endeavour to reduce monarchies to popular states or commonwealths, dissolve the laws, and retrench the revenues of princes, and turn all things topsy-turvy; and that, in short, if we had our wills, there should nothing continue safe in the governments of the world. Oh! how often have they by such pretences incensed the minds of princes against us, that so they might crush the Reformation in its first springing up, and princes might be possessed with an aversion for our religion before they knew what it was; and that magistrates might entertain an opinion, that whenever they saw one of us, they saw one of their enemies.

9. It would have been a great affliction to us, to be thus hatefully accused of so great a crime as treason, but that we know that Christ himself and his apostles, and an infinite number of other pious Christians, have been made the objects of public envy on the same pretence. For Christ, though he commanded to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, Matt. xxii. 21. yet he was accused of sedition, in that he was said to design a change in the government, and to affect and intend a kingdom; and so they loudly charged him before the tribunal of Pilate; If thou lettest this man go, thou art no friend to Cæsar, John xix. 12. And the apostles, although they constantly taught that we ought to obey magistrates, and that every soul should be subject to the higher powers, and that not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but also for conscience sake, Rom. xiii. 1. yet they were said to stir up the people, and to incite the multitude to rebellion. Haman brought the Jews into the disfavour of Ahasuerus, by representing them as a stubborn and rebellious people, that despised the edicts and laws of princes. The wicked king Ahab charged Elijah the prophet of God, that he troubled Israel. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, accused Amos the prophet, of a conspiracy before Jeroboam. And behold, saith he, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words, Amos vii. 10. In short, Tertullian saith, this was the general accusation against all Christians in his times, that they were traitors, plotters, and the common enemies of mankind; and therefore if truth, which is still the same, suffers the same reproaches as it did formerly, it may indeed seem troublesome and uneasy, but it is not new or unusual.

10. It was easy, forty years ago, to fix such slanders upon

the then rising and unknown truth, when the first rays of it burst forth in the midst of so great a darkness, and few men had heard what doctrines were taught; when Martin Luther and Hulderic Zuingle, two excellent persons, who were given by God to enlighten the world, began first to preach the gospel; when the thing was new, and the event uncertain, and the minds of men surprised and unsettled, and their ears open to all manner of calumnies; and it was not possible to invent that defamation of us which would not be believed by the people, even upon the account of the novelty and strangeness of the thing. And so it was in the more ancient times: the first opposers of Christianity, Symmachus, Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, represented the primitive Christians as a seditious and rebellious sect, before either prince or people knew well what the Christians were, or what they professed, or what they would have. But now, when our enemies may see and cannot deny, that in all our words and writings we diligently admonish the people of their duty, that they should obey their princes and magistrates, though they are wicked men, which is also confirmed by experience, and seen and observed by all the world—certainly, I say, it is now a senseless thing to attempt to make us odious by a parcel of superannuated over-worn lies, when they have no new and fresh crimes to lay to our charge.

11. We bless our gracious God, whose cause this is, that there hath yet been no example of any insurrection or rebellion in any of those countries, kingdoms, or commonwealths, which have embraced the Reformation. We have not subverted any monarchy; we have not diminished any prince's jurisdiction or rights; we have not troubled any commonwealths; the kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden; the dukes of Saxony; the counts of the Palatinate; the marquesses of Brandenburg; the landgraves of Hesse; the commonwealths of the Switzers; the free cities of Strasburg, Basil, Frankfort, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, are all in the same state they were before the Reformation; or rather, because the people are now better instructed in the matters of obedience to their governors than they were before, they are in a better state. Let our defamers go into those places where the gospel is settled by the blessing of God, and then tell us where princes have more majesty? where there is less pride and tyranny? where are princes treated with more respect? where the

people are less tumultuous? where the civil government or ecclesiastical was ever in greater tranquillity?

12. But you will say, the boors of Germany fell into tumults and insurrections upon the first preaching of this doctrine. Be it granted; but then Martin Luther, the first divulger of it, with great vehemence and sharpness wrote against them, and reduced them to their allegiance and duty.

13. And whereas some ignorant men have objected, that the Switzers murdered Leopold, the archduke of Austria, and, changing the state, erected a commonwealth, and so freed their country; this was done, as appears by all histories, above two hundred and sixty years since, under Boniface VIII. when the papal power was at the highest, about two hundred years before Hulderic Zuingle began to preach the gospel, or indeed was born. But from that time to this, all things there have been in the greatest tranquillity and quiet that was possible; not only in relation to foreign wars, but intestine commotions; so that if it were a sin to deliver their country from a foreign dominion, which oppressed them with great insolence and tyranny, yet it is unjust and absurd to load the Reformation with the crimes of others, or them with those of their forefathers.

14. But shall the bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? will HE pretend to teach the people subjection and obedience to magistrates, or has HE any regard to majesty? Why then does he suffer himself to be called by his flatterers, the LORD OF LORDS, which none of the ancient bishops of Rome ever did; as if he would have all kings and princes, whoever they were, and wheresoever, to be no better than his vassals and slaves? Why does he boast that he is the KING OF KINGS, and that he has the right of commanding them as his subjects? Why does he force emperors and monarchs to swear obedience to him? Why does he boast that his own majesty is seventy-seven times greater than the majesty of the emperor; and that forsooth, because God made two great lights in heaven, and because the heavens and the earth had not two several, but one single beginning? Why have he and his followers in that, shaken off the yoke and exempted themselves from the jurisdiction of all civil powers, that they might with the greater liberty and security plague the world?"*

* "One of your own doctors saith, It were more acceptable unto God, that the world, in all matters were governed only by the pope." *Def. of Apology.*

15. Why has he his legates, that is, a crafty sort of spies, as it were in ambush, in the courts, councils, and chambers of all kings? Why does he, as his interest requires, set princes at variance amongst themselves; and at his pleasure fill the earth with seditions? Why does he proscribe, and take for a heathen and pagan, whatever prince withdraws himself from his dominion, and promise his indulgences so freely, if any man will by any means whatsoever assassinate his enemies? Does he preserve empires and kingdoms, or at all consult and desire the public peace? You ought, O pious reader! to pardon us, if these things seem a little more sharp and eager than becomes a divine; for so great is the provocation, so great and so impotent withal is the ambition of the pope, that it cannot be expressed in other or milder words. For he had once the insolence to say in a public council, that all the authority of all the kings in the world depended upon him. He, out of ambition and desire to rule, distracted the Roman empire, and tore in pieces the Christian world; he absolved the Italians, and among them himself, from the oath wherein they were obliged to the emperor of Greece, with great perfidy; and solicited his subjects to revolt from him, and called Charles Martell the great, out of France into Italy; and after a new, and till then unheard-of manner, made him emperor. He deposed Childeric, king of France, an innocent prince, only because he did not like him, and set up Pepin in his place. He would, if he had been able, have cast out Philip the Fair, another king of France, and have adjudged the kingdom of France to Albert, king of the Romans. He broke the power of Florence, though his own country, which was then a most flourishing city; and, changing its free and peaceable state, he delivered it up to the will of one man. He made all Savoy to be torn in pieces by the emperor Charles V. on the one side, and Francis I. king of France on the other; scarce leaving to the miserable duke one city to shelter himself in.

16. I am weary of examples, and indeed there is nothing more troublesome than to enumerate the great actions of the popes of Rome of this nature. I pray, of whose party were they who poisoned the emperor Henry VII. in the eucharist, and they who did the same to pope Victor in the holy chalice? Who exercised the same art upon our king John of England, in a common table-cup? Whoever they were, and of what party soever, this is certain, they were neither

Lutherans nor Zuinglians. Who is it, that at this day permits the greatest kings and monarchs to kiss his feet? Who is it that commands the emperor to hold his bridle, and the king of France his stirrup? Who was it that cast Francis Dandolo, duke of Venice, and king of Crete and Cyprus, under his table, to gnaw the bones with the dogs? Who crowned Henry VI. the emperor, at Rome, not with his hands, but with his feet; and then with his foot kicked his crown off again, adding, that he had power to create emperors, and to depose them? Who armed Henry the son, against the emperor Henry IV. his own father; and caused the son to take his father prisoner, and having shaven, and treated him ignominiously, to cast him into a monastery, where he pined away with hunger and sorrow? Who was it that trod insolently upon the neck of the emperor Frederick? and, as if this had not been a sufficient affront, subjoined out of the psalms of David, Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and shalt tread the lion and the dragon under thy feet! Psal. xci. 13. Where is there such another example of despised and injured majesty in all history, except in Tamerlane the Scythian, a fierce and a barbarous prince, and in Saphor king of Persia? All these were popes, all of them successors of St. Peter, all most holy men, whose words were every one of them to be gospel to us!

17. If we be guilty of treason who reverence our princes, who submit to them in all things as far as the Scriptures will permit us, what then are these men who have not only done all these base things, but have also extolled them as generous actions? Do they thus teach the people to revere magistrates, or can they with any modesty accuse us of being seditious men, the disturbers of the public peace, and contemners of the majesty of princes? For, as for us, none of us shake off the yoke, nor embroil kingdoms, nor dispose of empires; nor do we reach poison to our kings, nor put out our feet to them to kiss, nor do we insultingly tread upon their necks. No; our profession, our doctrine, is this, that every soul, whose ever it is, whether it be a monk, or an evangelist, or a prophet, or an apostle, it ought to be subject to kings and magistrates; and so the pope himself, except he affect to seem greater than the evangelists, prophets, and apostles, ought to acknowledge and call the emperor, his lord, as the ancient popes in better times ever have done. We publicly teach, that princes are to be

obeyed as men sent by God, and whosoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God, Rom. xiii. 2. These are our doctrines; these principles shine forth in our books, in our sermons, in our lives, and in the modesty and dutiful behaviour of our people.

18. And, whereas they pretend we have departed from the unity of the catholic church; this is not only odious, but though it is not true, yet it hath an appearance and similitude of truth in it. But, then, not only those things which are true and certain find belief with the ignorant multitude, but those things also which may seem probable; and so we shall ever observe that crafty and cunning men who had not the truth on their sides, have ever maintained their cause with the resemblance of truth; that those who could not dive into the bottom of things, might be taken at least with the show and probability of their arguments. Because the primitive Christians, our forefathers, when they prayed to God, turned their faces towards the rising sun, there were some that said they worshipped the sun, and that it was their god. And because they said, that, as to their eternal and immortal life, they lived on nothing but the flesh and blood of the Lamb without spot, meaning thereby our Saviour Jesus Christ, envious men, the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose only business it was to render the Christian religion by any means hateful, did thereupon persuade the people, that the Christians were impious men, that they offered human sacrifices, and drank man's blood. And when the Christians said, With God there is neither male nor female, that is, that, as to the obtaining of justification, there is no distinction of persons; and did salute one another commonly by the names of brother and sister; there were not wanting some who slandered the Christians thereupon, and said, they made no distinctions amongst them of sex or age, but acted like beasts. And when they met frequently in vaults and secret places, to pray and hear the gospel, which sort of private places and meetings had sometimes been made use of by conspirators against the government; there was thereupon a rumour spread abroad, that they conspired together, and had secret consultations about murdering the magistrates, and subverting the government. And because in celebrating the holy communion they made use of bread and wine, according to the institution of Christ, they were thought by many not to worship Christ, but Bacchus and Ceres; because those

heathen deities were worshipped by the pagans with a like rite, with bread and wine. These things were then believed by many, not because they were true, for what could possibly be less so? but because they had a kind of resemblance of truth, and by that show of truth were fitted to deceive them.

18. So they traduce us, and say, that as heretics we have departed from the unity of the catholic church, and the communion of Christ; not that they believe this to be true, nor are they at all concerned whether it be true or false; but because the thing may in some sort seem true to ignorant men. For we have indeed departed, not as heretics ever have done, from the church of Christ; but, as good men ought to do, from the contagion of wicked men and hypocrites. And yet here they insult wonderfully, that theirs is the church, the spouse of Christ, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noah, out of which no salvation is to be hoped for; and, in the interim, they assert with the same confidence, that we have revolted, that we have rent the coat of Christ, and torn ourselves from his body and made a defection from the catholic faith. And when they have thus left nothing unsaid which can possibly be, though ever so falsely and slanderously, objected against us, yet at last they cannot pretend that we have forsaken the word of God, or the apostles of Christ, or the primitive church.

19. Now we have ever thought, that the primitive church which was in the times of Christ, and the apostles, and holy fathers, was the catholic church. Nor do we doubt, but that church is the ark of Noah, the spouse of Christ, the pillar and foundation of truth, or to place in it all the hopes of our salvation. It is indeed an odious thing to break off and depart from the society a man has long lived in, especially if that society consists of men who seem to be, and are therefore called Christians, though in truth they are none. And in reality we do not so contemn their church, as bad as it now is, (for the name's sake, and because the gospel of Jesus Christ was once truly and purely taught there,) as that we have willingly departed from it without necessity. But, what if an idol be set up in the church of God, and that desolation appears there, which Christ foretold should stand in the holy place? What if some pirate or robber possessed himself of the ark of Noah? Certainly, as often as these men thus preach to us of the church, they make themselves only to be that church, and ascribe all

those glorious titles to themselves, and triumph like those of old who cried, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord! Jer. vii. 4. or like the scribes and pharisees, when they boasted they were the children of Abraham, John viii. 39.

20. Thus do they impose upon silly men by vain and useless shows, and seek to overwhelm us with the mere name of the church; just as if a thief, having got possession of another man's house, and having by force expelled or slain the true owner, should afterwards claim it as his own, and keep the true heir out; or as if antichrist, after he has seized the temple of God, should afterwards pretend it were his own, and that Christ had no right to it. For though our adversaries have left almost nothing like a church, in the church of God, yet they will needs seem the only patrons and defenders of the church; just as Gracchus defended the Roman exchequer, by making such profuse largesses, and such unreasonable expenses, that he quite ruined the public treasury. But then there was never any thing yet so absurd or wicked, but it might seem easy to be covered and defended by the name of the church; for wasps make combs, and impious men have their assemblies not much unlike the churches. But they are not all the people of God who are called so; no, nor are they all Israelites who are of Israel. The Arian heretics boasted that they only were catholics; and they called all the rest, sometimes Ambrosians, and at other times Athanasians and Johannites. And Theodoret tells us, that though Nestorius was a heretic, yet he covered himself with the pretence and cloak of the orthodox faith. Ebion, though he was of the same opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as Epiphanins assures us, he would needs be called a Christian. The Mahometans, at this day, though it is clear from all histories, and they themselves cannot deny it, that they are descended from Hagar; yet, as if they were the children of Sarah, the free-woman, the wife of Abraham, they will needs, for the name and race sake, be called Saracens.*

21. So the false prophets in all times, who opposed themselves to the true prophets of God, to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, to Christ and his apostles, boasted of nothing so much as of the name of The Church? nor did they so fiercely persecute them, and call them deserters and apostates, upon any

* The real derivation of the name Saracen has not been satisfactorily ascertained.

other account so much, as because they departed from their society, and would not observe the custom of their ancestors. And if we be obliged to submit to the judgment of those men who then governed the church, we must regard neither God nor his word, nor any thing else; nor can it be denied, that the apostles made defection from the high priests and priests; that is, from the catholic church, and without and against their wills innovated in many things which pertained to religion, and, consequently, were rightly condemned according to the law!

And so as they say Antæus was to be lifted by Hercules from the earth, his mother, before he could be conquered by him; so our adversaries are to be lifted up from that mother of theirs, the vain pretence and shadow of the church, or else they will never yield to the word of God. So, as Jeremiah saith, do not so much boast that you have the temple of God with you, that confidence is vain; For these are (saith he, Jer. vii. 4.) lying words. And the angel in the Apocalypse, Rev. ii. 9. They say that they are Jews, but they are the synagogue of Satan. And when the pharisees boasted that they were of the stock and blood of Abraham, Christ told them, John viii. 44. they were of the devil their father, for they did not resemble Abraham their father; as if he should have said, You are not what you so much desire to be called; you impose upon the people by vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the ruin of the church. And therefore they ought in the first place to prove this truly and plainly to us—namely, that the church of Rome, as it is now managed by them, is the true and orthodox church of God, and that it agrees with the primitive church of Christ and his apostles, and of the holy fathers; which primitive church we doubt not was the catholic church. We indeed will readily grant that there is no cause why we should forsake their society, if we could once persuade ourselves that ignorance, error, superstition, the worship of idols, the inventions of men, (and they very often quite contrary to the Holy Scriptures,) did either please God, or sufficiently promote our salvation. Or if we could once believe that the word of God were only written for some years, and after that were to be abrogated; or that the words and laws of God were entirely to be submitted to the wills of men; so that whatever he saith or commandeth, except the bishop of Rome wills and commands the same too, were to be esteemed void and not spoken. But in that

we have departed from a church whose errors are attested and manifest, and which has apparently departed from the word of God; and whereas we have not so much departed from her as from her errors, and that not turbulently and injuriously, but quietly and modestly; in all this, we say, we have done nothing contrary to Christ and his apostles. For the church of God is not of that nature, that it cannot possibly be darkened with any spots, or sometimes not need a reformation; for if it were so, what need were there of all those councils and great meetings, without which, as Ægidius saith, the Christian faith cannot stand? "For," saith he, "as often as councils are intermitted, so often is the church left by Christ." Or if there be no danger that the church can take damage, what need is there of the insignificant, as they have ordered the matter, name of bishops?* Why are they called pastors, if there be no sheep that can go astray? Why are they called watchmen, if there be no city that can be betrayed? Why pillars, if there be nothing that can sink down into ruin when not supported by them? In the very beginning of the world the church of God was begun, and she was then instructed by a heavenly Word, which God sent out of his own mouth; she was furnished with ceremonies, taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets; and so she was preserved and brought down to those times in which Christ showed himself in the flesh.

22. But, how often was she in the mean time, and how horribly, darkened and diminished! For where was she when all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth? Where was she when there were only eight persons (and not all those either) chaste and pious, whom God was pleased to rescue out of a common ruin, and preserve alive in a general destruction? When Elijah so bitterly and mournfully complained that he only was left of all the earth, who did truly and rightly worship God? 1 Kings xix. When Isaiah said, the silver of the people of God, that is, the church, was become dross, and the once faithful city was become an harlot, and that in her, from the head to the sole of the foot, there was no soundness in her whole body? Isa. i. Or when Christ said, that the house of God was by the scribes and pharisees turned into a den of thieves? Matt. xxi. 13. For the church of Christ, like a corn-field, if it be not ploughed and broken, tilled and dressed, instead of wheat, it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles.

* Episcoporum.

And therefore God from time to time sent prophets and messengers, and, at last, Christ himself, to reduce the people into the right way, and to restore the sinking church to her former strength and beauty.

And now let no man say, These things could only happen under the law, when the church was under the shadow, and in her infancy; when truth was covered with figures and ceremonies, and nothing was yet brought to perfection; when the law was not written on the hearts of men, but on tables of stone, though this pretence is very ridiculous; for there was then the same God, the same Christ, the same Spirit, the same doctrine, the same faith, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same covenant, and the same efficacy in the word of God. And Eusebius saith, that all the faithful from Adam were indeed Christians, though they were not so called. Let no man, I say, speak thus, for St. Paul the apostle found the same errors and defects under the gospel, in the highest perfection and the greatest light; so that he was forced to write thus to the Galatians, whom he had just before settled; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain, and that you have to no purpose heard the gospel. O my little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you, Gal. iv. 11, 19.

For there is no need of speaking how fearfully the church of Corinth was corrupted. And could the churches of Galatia and Corinth fall, and is the church of Rome the only church that can neither fall nor err? Certainly Christ long since foretold concerning his church, that there should be a time when the abomination of desolation should stand in the holy place, Matt. xxiv. 15. And St. Paul saith, 2 Thes. ii. 4, that antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4. And the time will come, when men will not endure sound doctrine, but in the church shall be turned unto fables. And St. Peter saith, 2 Pet. ii. 1. There shall be in the church false teachers; and Daniel the prophet saith of the last times, the days of antichrist, the truth shall be cast down, and trodden upon in the earth. And Christ saith, there shall be such great calamities and confusions upon the earth, that the very elect, if it were possible, shall be deceived, Matt. xxiv. 24. Now all these things are to come to pass, not among pagans and Turks, but in the holy place, the temple of God, in the church, the assembly and society of Christians.

23. And although these things alone, are sufficient to

forewarn a wise man not to suffer himself easily to be imposed upon by the name of the church, so as not to examine it by the word of God; yet besides all this, many of the fathers and pious learned men have oftentimes grievously complained that these predictions were come to pass in their times. For God, in the midst of that darkness, would that there should be some men who should as sparks be observed by men, though they could not give them a very clear and bright light. Certainly Hilary, when things were in some sort sincere and uncorrupted, says, "Ye do ill in doting upon walls; ye do ill to venerate houses and buildings, as if they were the church of God; ye do ill thrust in the name of peace beneath them. Is it doubtful, that antichrist shall sit therein? The mountains, the woods, the lakes, prisons, and dungeons, to me seem safer; for the prophets of God prophesied by the Spirit of God abiding in them, either of their own accord, or forced thither by violence." Gregory the great, as if he then perceived and foresaw the ruin that was near at hand, wrote thus to John, bishop of Constantinople, who first commanded himself to be called by the new name of the universal bishop of Christ's whole church, "If the church should depend upon one man, it would certainly fall." And who is there that hath not observed that this is come long since to pass? It is a great while since the bishop of Rome would have the whole church depend upon him only, and therefore it is no wonder if it be long since fallen. The abbot Bernard, above four hundred years ago, said, There is nothing sound in the clergy now, therefore there is nothing remaining but the revelation of the man of sin; and in his sermon on the conversion of St. Paul he expresses himself thus—"It may seem, perhaps, to some, that persecutions are ceased; no, they now begin from those who have obtained preeminence in the church; thy friends and thy neighbours have approached and stood against thee. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no soundness. Iniquity is proceeded from thy elders, judges, and vicars, who seemed to govern thy people. We cannot now say, As the people are, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priests. Alas! alas! O Lord God! they are the first in persecuting thee who seem to love the primacy, and exercise a principality in thy church." And upon the Canticles—"All my friends, and all my enemies, all my acquaintances, and all my adversaries, the servants of Christ, serve antichrist. Behold, in my peace my bitterness is in-

creased!" And Roger Bacon,* a man of great name, when he had in a sharp discourse represented the miserable state of his own times, adds, "Those many and great errors, require antichrist as near at hand."

24. Gerson complains, that in his times all the force of theology was degenerated into a mere contest of wit and sophistry. The Lugdunensian brothers,† a sort of men which were not ill as to their lives, used to affirm that the church of Rome, from whence alone the oracles of faith were then fetched, was the harlot of Babylon; concerning which, such clear predictions were in the Revelation; and that she was the assembly of hell. I know that the authority of these men is in no esteem with them; but what now would they say if I should produce witnesses which are of the highest value with them? What if I say that pope Adrian ingenuously confessed that all those mischiefs came upon the church from the height of the papal power? Pighius confesses that they erred in this, that they suffered many abuses to be brought into the mass, though they would have it esteemed most holy. Gerson admits that the multitude of light and foolish ceremonies had extinguished all that power of the Holy Spirit which should have flourished in them, and all that was truly pious. All Greece and Asia complained that the popes of Rome, by their doctrines of purgatory, and sales of indulgences, had both offered violence to the consciences of men and robbed their purses.‡

25. Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hieronymus Savanarola, abbot Joachim, Baptista

* Roger Bacon was an English monk of the thirteenth century, the most extraordinary person of that age for learning and the ardent pursuit of philosophy. He manifested a great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which, with the many important discoveries he made, brought upon him the displeasure of the ignorant and bigoted ecclesiastics of that day.

† Jewell, in his Defence of the Apology, says, "These men who are styled 'Poor men of Lyons,' found fault with the pride of the pope; with the lewd life of the clergy; with purgatory; with holy water; with pardons; and with other like deceivings of the people. They translated the Bible, and prayed in their natural known mother tongue—these were their errors; therefore they were called detestable heretics, therefore they were condemned by the church of Rome. But God's name be blessed for ever, since that time the popes' painted power hath still abated; and these poor detestable condemned heretics have still increased."

‡ Gerson was chancellor of the university of Paris. He was appointed director of the prelates at the council of Constance in the fifteenth century, on account of his learning and abilities. An attempt to reconcile the Greek and Roman churches by the council of Florence in 1439 failed, notwithstanding the efforts and bribery of the pope.

Mantuanus, and before them all the abbot Bernard, have very often grievously complained of the tyranny and Persian-like pride of the bishops of Rome, and have not obscurely hinted, whether truly or falsely I will not inquire, that the pope was antichrist; not to mention a number of others, who, because they have freely and ingenuously reprehended the vices of the popes, will, perhaps, be numbered by them amongst their enemies. But all these I have named, lived either at Rome itself, or under the eyes of these most holy fathers, and were intimately acquainted with their way of living, and did never depart from their catholic faith. Neither can any man object that these were Lutherans or Zuinglians, for they lived not only some years, but some entire ages, before the names of these men were heard of in the world; and they saw also, even then, that errors were crept into the church, and desired they might be amended.

And where was the wonder if the church fell into some errors in those times, in which neither the bishop of Rome, who alone had the chief management of affairs, nor scarcely any other persons, either performed, or, indeed, understood, what was their duty; for it is not credible, that in that time, in which they were so idle and drowsy, the devil was perpetually asleep or idle too. For what kind of men they were, and with what fidelity they took care of the house of God, though we are silent, they may be pleased to hear their own Bernard: "Those bishops to whom the church of God is now committed, are not teachers, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors; not prelates, but Pilates." Thus Bernard wrote then of him who called himself the great pontiff, and of the bishops who then sat at the helm. He was no heretic, he was no Lutheran, he never forsook their church, and yet he never hesitated to call those bishops they then had, seducers, impostors, Pilates. And now when the people were openly seduced, and Christians imposed upon, and Pilate mounted the tribunal, and adjudged Christ and his members to the fire and sword; oh! in what condition was the church then! And of so many and such gross errors, what one error have they reformed to this day? yea, what one error have they at ANY time acknowledged and confessed?

26. But now, whereas they pretend to be in possession of the whole catholic church, and call us heretics because we do not agree with them; let us see what mark that church hath of the church of God. Nor is the church of God very difficult to be found, if you seriously and diligently seek for

it; for it is placed in a high and illustrious place, and built on the top of a mountain, and the foundations of it are laid upon the apostles and prophets. "There," saith St. Augustine, "let us seek the church; there let us try our cause:" and in another place he saith, "The church is to be shown out of the sacred Scriptures; and whatever cannot derive itself from them, is not the church." And yet I know not whence it proceeds, whether from reverence or conscience, or a despair of victory, that these men always dread and shun the word of God as much as a thief does the gallows; and, in truth, it is no wonder; for as they say a beetle is presently extinguished in opobalsam, although it is a most fragrant ointment; so they see their cause is suffocated and ruined whenever it comes near the Scriptures, which are a sort of deadly poison to it. Therefore they accustom themselves to call the Holy Scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only cite on all occasions, but, at the last sealed them with his blood—that they may drive the people from them, as if they were dangerous and destructive, with the greater facility—these very Scriptures, I say, they call a cold, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, dead letter, which seems to us to be the same thing as if they should wholly deny them to be the word of God; and, besides all this, they commonly add a simile too not very proper; "They are," say they, "a nose of wax, and may be formed and set all manner of ways, and be made to serve all manner of purposes."* Does the pope not know that these things are said by his followers? Does he not understand what kind of patrons he has?

27. Let the pope, then, be pleased to hear how piously and how holily Hosius, a certain Polander, and a bishop, as he saith himself, and certainly he was an eloquent, and not unlearned man, and a sharp and violent defender of his interest, writes concerning the Scriptures. I believe he will admire that a pious man, could possibly entertain such impious thoughts, or write so contemptuously, of those very words which he knew proceeded from the mouth of God! And, above all, that he should seem to desire that it might not pass for his sense alone, but the common opinion of the whole popish party. "We," saith he, "have bid adieu to the Scriptures, having seen so many, not only different, but contrary interpretations given of them. Let us, then, rather hear God himself speak, than apply ourselves, and trust our

* Albertus Pighius in controversia de ecclesia.

salvation to those jejune elements. There is no need of being skilful in the law and Scriptures, but of being taught by God. That labour is ill employed, which is bestowed on the Scriptures; for the Scripture is a creature, and a poor kind of element." Thus far Hosius, in his book of the express word of God, in this place craftily, under the person of another man, though he speaks the same thing in several other places in the same book, as his own opinion, without any disguise, which is said with the same spirit and affection, as the like things were heretofore by Montanus and Marcion, who are reported frequently to have said, when they contemptuously rejected the Holy Scriptures, that they knew more and better things than either Christ or his apostles ever knew.*

What, then, shall I say on this occasion? O ye pillars of religion! O ye presidents of the church of Christ! is this the reverence ye pay to the word of God? Do ye bid an adieu to the sacred Scriptures, which St. Paul saith are divinely inspired, which the holy God hath illustrated by so many miracles, in which the certain footsteps of Jesus Christ are imprinted, which were cited as testimonies by all the holy fathers, by the apostles, by Christ himself, the Son of God, when occasion required it? Do ye, I say, bid adieu to these, as if they were not worthy of your regard? that is, do ye impose silence upon God, who speaks clearly to you in the Scriptures? or will you call that word a poor and a dead element, by which alone, as St. Paul saith, we are reconciled to God, and which, as the prophet David saith, Ps. xix. 9. is holy and pure, and shall endure for ever? Or, will you say, that all the pains we spend in that which Christ commanded us to search diligently, and to have ever in our eye, is lost? and that Christ and the apostles, when they exhorted the people to a careful perusal of the Scriptures, that they might thereby abound in all knowledge and wisdom, designed only to delude and abuse men? It is no wonder that these men despise us and our writings, who thus undervalue God himself and his oracles; but it was a most foolish action to offer so great an affront to the word of God, that they might do us a small mischief.†

* The Bible was called "dead ink," an inanimate dumb thing, "the black gospel," by the prelates at the council of Trent.

† The following paragraph is added to the Apology itself in the Defence. "But Hosius will here make exclamation and say, we do him wrong, these are not his words, but the words of the heretic Zwenkfeldius. But how then if Zwenkfeldius make exclamation on

28. And now, as if all this were too little, they commit the Holy Scriptures to the fire, as the wicked king Jehoiakim, and Antiochus and Maximinius, two heathen persecutors, did; calling them the books of heretics. And they seem altogether disposed to imitate Herod the great, in what he did for the establishing his power; for he, being an Idumæan, of another race and blood than the Jews were, and desiring to be thought a Jew, that so he might the better settle that his kingdom over them, which he had obtained from Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all their genealogies from Abraham's time, which they kept in their public register, and which were carefully preserved, by which, without any error, it was easy to find of what tribe any person was descended, to be burnt and abolished; that there might be nothing to be found for the future, by which it might be proved he was of another nation. So these men, pretending that all their innovations were consigned to them by Christ and his apostles, and desiring they should be accordingly esteemed, lest there should be any thing any where extant, which might contradict these dreams and shams, either burn or suppress the Scriptures, and keep them from the people. St. Chrysostom has written very well and appositely against such men as these: "Heretics," saith he, "shut the gates of truth; for they know, if they be kept open, the church will never be thought theirs." And Theophylact styles the word of God a candle, by the light of which, a thief may be discovered. And Tertullian saith that the Scriptures convict the frauds and thefts of heretics. For why else do they hide and suppress the gospel, which Christ commanded his disciples to publish from the house-top? Why else do they endeavour to put that candle under a bushel which ought to be set in

the other side, and say that the very same words be not his, but Hosius' own words? For tell me, where hath Zwenkfeldius ever written them? Or if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter go, although Hosius will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For nearly in all controversies, and especially touching the use of the holy communion under both kinds, although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them, as no better than cold and dead elements, and commandeth us to give faith to certain new lessons appointed by his church, and to I wot not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighius saith, Men ought not to believe, no not the most clear and manifest words of the Scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the church, whereby he meaneth the church of Rome.

a candlestick? Why do they trust more to the ignorance, blindness, and folly of the multitude, than to the goodness of their cause? Do they think their arts are not disclosed? or that, as if they had Gyges' ring, they can go undiscovered? The world sees now, with both eyes, what is so carefully locked up in the cabinet of the pope's breast; this one argument is sufficient to prove they do not act well and sincerely. That cause deserves to be suspected, which declines a scrutiny, and hates the light; for, as Christ saith, he that doeth evil, seeks darkness, and hates the light, John iii. 20. but a mind conscious of what is good, willingly comes forth, that the works which come from God may be seen. But these men are not so blind, but that they see what will become of their kingdom, if the Scriptures come once to be generally known: and, as it is said of old, all the idols of the demons, which before gave oracles, suddenly became dumb upon the appearance of Christ upon earth; so, now, will all their arts, at the approach of the gospel, sink down into ruins and rubbish; for antichrist is not to be deposed by any other thing than the brightness of the coming of Christ, 2 Thess. ii. 8.

29. We do not, like them, presently betake ourselves to fire and sword, but to the Scriptures; nor do we assault them with force and arms, but with the word of God. By them, as Tertullian saith, we nourish our faith; by them we erect our hope; by them we establish our confidence; for we know that the gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that in it there is eternal life; and, as St. Paul admonishes us, we would refuse to hear an angel of God that came from heaven, if he endeavoured to turn us away from any part of this doctrine. Yea, as that most holy man, Justin Martyr, said of himself, we would not believe God himself, if he should teach us another gospel; for whereas they make the Holy Scriptures, like silent masses, dumb and useless, and appeal rather to God himself speaking in the church and in councils; that is, to their own senses and opinions; that is a very uncertain and dangerous way of finding out truth, and in a sort fanatical, and which was never approved by the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith, indeed, that many boast of the Holy Spirit; but if then they speak what is their own, they glory falsely of what they have not: "For," saith he, "as Christ denied that he spake from himself when he spake out of the law and the prophets; so, now, if any thing besides the gospel is obtruded upon us under the name of the Holy Ghost, it

is not to be believed; for, as Christ is the completion of the law and the prophets, so the Spirit is the completion of the gospel."*

THE FIFTH PART.

1. But though they have not the Scriptures on their side, perhaps they will pretend that they have the ancient doctors and the holy fathers; for they have ever boasted that all antiquity, and the perpetual consent of all times, is for them; and that all our pretences are novel, and were never heard of till within the course of a very few years last past.

2. Now, certainly, there can nothing of more weight be said against religion, than that it is new. We know not how this has come to pass; but, from the beginning of the world, thus it hath ever been; for, whensoever God hath discovered and restored to mankind the light of his truth, though it is not only of the utmost antiquity, but older than time itself, and eternal, yet it ever seems to wicked men, who hate it, to be new, and of no antiquity. That impious and bloody man Haman, that he might bring the Jews into disfavour, thus accused them to Ahasuerus: Thou, O king, hast here in thy dominions a certain people, scattered abroad, which observe new laws; but are stubborn and rebellious against thy laws. St. Paul, also, when he began first to preach the gospel to the Athenians, was said to be a setter forth of strange gods; that is, of a new religion; and, accordingly, thus they bespeak him: May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is? Acts xvii. 18. And Celsus, when he wrote expressly against Christ and his gospel, that he might expose it to the scorn of men, under the pretence of its novelty, writes thus: What! has God, after so many ages, now at last bethought himself? Eusebius, also, is our author, that from the beginning, the Christian religion was, in derision, styled "the new and strange religion;" and so our adversaries condemn all our doctrines as new and strange; but then they desire that all their

* In the Defence of the Apology the malpractices and abominations of the pope and the church of Rome described in the foregoing chapter, are treated very fully.

own, without exception, should be reputed most ancient. Just as the magicians and conjurers, whose business is with the infernal spirits, that their abominable art may be thought the more sublime and divine, as being derived from great patrons and inventors, and of a very ancient original, do commonly say, that they have their books, and all their rites and secret mysteries, from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, and Adam, and from the archangel Raphael. So our enemies, that their religion too, which they have not long since patched up for themselves, may with the more ease be recommended to ignorant men, and those that rarely consider what they themselves or others do, pretend that it came down to them, just such as now it is, from St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, from the apostles and Christ; for they very well know, that there is nothing more popular, and of greater esteem with men, than those venerable names.* But now, what if those things which they pretend are so new, do indeed prove to be most ancient? And what, if, on the other side, almost all those things which they extol so very much upon the pretence of antiquity, when they are well and diligently examined, are in the end found to be new and of a very late origin?

3. In truth, the laws and ceremonies of the Jews, although accused by Haman as new, could never be thought so by any man, who did well and rightly consider, for they were written on most ancient tables; And Christ, though many thought he departed from Abraham and the ancient fathers, and brought in a new religion in his own name, yet answered truly, John v. 46. If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also; for my doctrine is not so new, for Moses, a very ancient author, and of great esteem with you, hath spoken of me. And St. Paul saith of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which many thought to be new, that it has the most ancient testimony of the law and the prophets. And our doctrine, which we may much better call the catholic doctrine of Christ, is not so new, but that it is commended to us by the Ancient of Days, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in most ancient monuments, the prophets and gospels, and the writings of the apostles; and these cannot now seem new to any man, but to him to whom the faith of the prophets, the gospel, and Christ himself,

* Some of the papists have asserted that Christ and his apostles founded the monastic life. Others make Elijah the founder of the Benedictines. With equal truth the cardinal's hat is ascribed to Jerome, the monk's cowl to Augustine, and holy water to Eliezer!

seems new. But, then, as to their religion, if it be so ancient as they pretend, why do they not prove it so from the examples of the primitive church, from the old fathers and the ancient councils? Why does so ancient a cause lie desolate, and without a patron, so very long? Indeed, they never want fire and swords; but then as to the ancient fathers and councils, there is with them a deep silence. But it is the height of absurdity and folly to begin with those bloody and brutish reasons, if they could possibly have found out easier and milder arguments.

4. And, again, if they do indeed entirely trust to antiquities, and do not dissemble any thing, why did one John Clement, an Englishman, rend and burn some leaves of Theodoret, a most ancient father, and a Greek bishop, in the presence of several persons of good worth and credit, believing that another copy of that book was no where to be found, because this father had perspicuously and clearly taught, that the nature of the bread was not abolished in the eucharist?* Why does Albertus Pighius deny that the ancient father St. Augustine had a true notion of original sin? or of matrimony, in that he saith, that a marriage made after a vow entered, is a good marriage, and cannot be dissolved? Upon which occasion Pighius saith, Augustine erred, and made use of false logic. And why did they, in a late impression of Origen upon the gospel of St. John, omit the whole sixth chapter, in which it is probable, or rather certain, that father has delivered many things contrary to their opinions concerning the eucharist; choosing rather to deface and mutilate this ancient father, than to suffer any thing to appear in the world which might contradict their doctrine, by printing the book perfect? Is their rending, suppressing, maiming, and burning the writings of the ancient fathers, an argument of their reliance on antiquity?†

* "This report was made in the presence and hearing of M. Peter Martyr, and other learned men, of whom certain are yet alive. The reporter was a learned man and a grave father, and not long ago a bishop in England, he said he was present, and saw the thing done." *Defence of the Apology.*

† Many interpolations and omissions were made by the Romanists in the writings of the fathers, as is admitted by their own authors. See appendix to the book of Bertram, ed. 1686.—When the Apology was written, the design of a general Index Expurgatorius upon all the printed fathers was not known, which is an undeniable argument under their own hands, that the ancient fathers are not in their interest; the first of these indexes was found at the sack of Cales (Cadiz) in Spain, Anno Domini, 1596, many years after this apology was published. *Note, ed.* 1686.

5. It is worth the while to see how rarely these gentlemen agree in matters of religion with those ancient fathers, of whose concurrence they boast so unmeasurably.

(1.) The ancient Elibertin council decreed, that what was the object of worship, should not be painted in churches.* The old father Epiphanius saith, "It is a horrible wickedness, and an insufferable villany, for any man to set up the picture even of Christ in Christian churches."—But they have filled all their churches, and every corner of them, with pictures and statues, as if there were no religion without them.

(2.) The ancient fathers Origen and St. Chrysostom have exhorted the people to the diligent reading of the SCRIPTURES; that they would buy books, and discourse among themselves of holy things in their families, the wives with their husbands, and the parents with their children.—But our adversaries condemn the Scriptures as dead elements, and drive the people from them as much as they possibly can.

(3.) The ancient fathers, Cyprian, Epiphanius, and St. Jerome, said, that if any person who had vowed to live a single life, did afterwards fall into impurity, and could not overcome the rages of his concupiscence, it was better for him to marry, and live chastely, in a state of matrimony; and such a marriage is, by St. Augustine, another ancient father, adjudged to be valid and good, and that it ought not to be recalled or rescinded.—But they, if a man has once bound himself by a vow—although he afterwards burns,—although he lives ever so dissolutely, yet they will never suffer him to marry; or, if he does perhaps marry, they deny that it is a lawful marriage; and they teach, that it is much more holy to keep a concubine, or a harlot, than to live in a state of matrimony.

(4.) St. Augustine, an ancient father, complained of the excessive number of impertinent ceremonies with which the minds and consciences of men were, even then, oppressed. They, as if God regarded nothing else, have since swelled the number of them to so immense a quantity, that there is scarce any thing else left in their churches.

(5.) The same ancient father denies it to be lawful for a monk to live lazily in idleness, and, under the show and pretence of sanctity, to live on what is another's; and the ancient father Apollonius saith, such a monk is no better than a thief.—But they have whole flocks, or herds shall I call them, of monks, who do nothing, nor do they so much

* This council was held A. D. 305, at Eliberis, or Elvira, in Spain.

as pretend to any show of holiness, and yet do not only live by the labour of others, but fare deliciously and luxuriously.

(6.) An ancient Roman council decreed, that no man should be present at that divine service which was celebrated by a priest whom he knew to keep a concubine.—But they permit the priests to keep concubines for money, and by force, compel men to be present at their sacrilegious services.

(7.) The ancient apostolical canons command that bishop to be deposed, who shall exercise at the same time the office of a bishop and the functions of a civil magistrate;—but these men do, and will exercise both, or rather, indeed, totally neglect that which is most of all their duty, and yet there is no man to remove and punish them.

(8.) The ancient council of Gangra forbad any man to put such difference between a married and a single priest, as to esteem the one more holy than the other, upon that account. —But they put such a difference, that they think all the holy services which are performed by a pious and good man who has a wife, are profaned.

(9.) The ancient emperor Justinianus commanded all things in the divine service to be pronounced with an audible, loud, clear, articulate voice, that the people might thereby reap some benefit by it.—But they, that the people may never understand them, whisper their divine service not only in an obscure and low tone, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue.

(10.) The old Carthaginian council* forbad any thing besides the canonical Scriptures to be read in the holy assemblies of the church.—But they read in their churches, what they themselves do not doubt to be mere lies and silly fables.† And now, if any man think these things are of no great consideration, because they were decreed by emperors, and small councils, consisting of bishops of less esteem, and not in full councils, and therefore they are more fond of the authority and names of the popes—

(11.) Julius expressly forbad the priest, in the celebration of the holy communion, to dip the bread in the chalice.— But they, contrary to this decree, divide the bread, and dip it.

* In the fourth century.

† Ludovicus Vives, writing of your Legenda Aurea, which was the mother of all your ecclesiastical stories or fables, saith thus, "I see no cause why it should be called the Golden Legend, seeing it was written by a man of an iron face, and a leaden heart, and is full of most shameless lies."—*Defence of Apology.*

(12.) Clemens the pope saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to bear both the spiritual and civil swords; and he saith, if thou wilt have both, thou deceivest thyself and those that hear thee.—But now the pope claims both, and bears both; and therefore the wonder ought to seem the less, if that has followed which Clement foretold; and he has accordingly deceived himself and those which have heard him.

(13.) Pope Leo saith, it is not lawful to celebrate more than one mass in one day, in one church;—they say every day, sometimes ten, at others twenty, and at others thirty, and sometimes more, in the same church, at the same time; so that the spectator knows not which way to turn himself.

(14.) Gelasius the pope saith, that if any man divide the sacrament, and, when he has received one part refuses the other, he acts wickedly and sacrilegiously;—but they, contrary to the word of God, and the decree of this pope, command only one part of the eucharist to be given to the people, and, by so doing, have made their priests guilty of sacrilege.

6. But now, if they shall pretend that all these things are antiquated and worn out of use, and so are, in a sort, dead, and do not concern our times; yet that men may see what faith is to be given to these men, and with what hope they call councils, let us consider, in a few instances, how well they observe those things which have been ordained of late years, and which are fresh in memory, by councils which they pretend were lawfully called, and in which they themselves decreed those things I shall mention, to be religiously observed. In the last council of Trent, not much above fourteen years since, it was decreed by the common vote of all orders there present, that two benefices should not be committed at one time to the same person. Where is that sanction now? Is that so soon antiquated and dead too? for they do frequently give not only two benefices, but sometimes, also, several monasteries too, and sometimes two, three, or four bishoprics, to one man, and he, too, sometimes not only unlearned, and consequently thereby unfit for them, but also a soldier. In the same council it was decreed, that all bishops ought to preach the gospel; but they never preach, nor ever come in a pulpit, nor do they think it in the least any part of their duty. What, then, is the meaning of all that show of antiquity? Why do they glory so in the names of the fathers, and of the ancient and modern councils? why would they so fain seem to rely upon their authority, whom, as occasion serves, at pleasure, they despise?

7. But I have a great desire to have a little discourse with the pope himself, and to tell him some things to his face. Be pleased then, O holy father! who so often boastest of antiquity, and pretendest that all the ancients are entirely addicted to thy service, to inform us, which of all the ancient fathers ever called "your holiness" the chief "pontiff," or "the universal bishop," or "the head of the church?" Which of them ever said that both the swords were given to you? Which of them ever said that you have the right and authority to call councils? or that the whole world was your diocese? Which of them ever said that all bishops had received of your fulness? That all power, both in heaven and earth, was given to you? and that you could not be judged by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by all the people? Which of them ever said that kings and emperors, by the command and will of Christ, derived authority from you?* Which of them ever affirmed, with a mathematical exactness and certainty, that your authority was precisely seventy-seven times greater than that of the greatest kings? Which of them ever said that you had a greater power than the other patriarchs? Which of them ever said you were "the Lord God," or not a mere man, like other mortals, or styled you a certain coagment† and hotch-potch, a mixture or concrete of God and man? Which of them ever said, that you were the fountain of all law, that you had an empire and dominion over purgatory, and that you might, at your pleasure command the angels of God? Which of them ever said, that you were king of kings, and lord of lords? And now we are in, we may inquire of a few other things of the same nature. What one man, of all the ancient bishops and fathers ever taught you to say a private mass, whilst the people did nothing but look on; or to lift the eucharist above your head, in which you now place all your religion, or to curtail the sacrament of Christ, and, contrary to his institution and express command, to deprive the people of one half of it? And that we may conclude: what one, of all the ancient fathers, taught you to dispense the blood of

* Verily when ye so proudly compare the pope to the sun, and the emperor to the moon, your meaning is that the emperor hath no authority, but only that he receiveth it from the pope. Notwithstanding, Isidore, your own doctor, saith, By the sun is meant kingly dignity, and by the moon the priesthood. Now therefore by this reckoning ye may cast your accounts, and say, The emperor is seventy and seven times *greater* than the pope.—*Defence of Apology.*

† Compound.

Christ and the merits of the martyrs, and to sell your indulgences, and all the apartments and lodgings of purgatory, like commodities in the market, for money? They are wont often to celebrate their own wonderful secret learning, and their manifold and various readings. Now, let your partisans at last produce something of it, if they can, or let them at least show they have read, and do know more than ordinary; for they have often made hideous outcries amongst their hearers, that all the parts of their religion are ancient and approved, not only by the multitude, but also by the continuance and consent of all nations and times.

8. Well then, let them at least show this their boasted antiquity; let them make it appear, that what they so much extol, is indeed of so vast an extent; let them prove that all Christian nations have embraced their religion. But, alas! as I said before, they flee from their own decrees, and have already plucked up those canons, which, but a very few years since, they made to last for ever. Why, then, should we trust them in relation to what they pretend concerning the fathers, the ancient councils, and the Scriptures? They have not, assuredly they have not, on their side what they pretend to have; they have neither antiquity, nor universality, nor the consent either of all times or of all nations; and of this they are not ignorant themselves, although they craftily dissemble their knowledge; yea, at times, they will not obscurely confess it, and therefore sometimes they will allege, that the sanctions of the ancient councils and fathers are such as may lawfully be changed; for different decrees, say they, will best suit the different state of the church in different times. And so they hide themselves under the name of "the church," and by a wretched sham delude mankind. And, in truth, it is a great wonder, that men should be so blind as not to see these things, or, if they do see them, so patient, as to bear and endure them with that stupidity and unconcern they seem to have.

9. But though they have abrogated the canons of the ancient councils, as too old and overworn, yet, perhaps, they have settled new and more useful rules in their place; for they have the confidence to say, that if Christ himself, or his apostles, should arise from the dead, they could not administer the affairs of the church of God better or more piously than it is now administered by them. Indeed they

have put others in the place of the former; but, as Jeremiah saith, Chaff instead of wheat; or, as Isaiah saith, What God never required at their hands; for they have stopped up all the veins of living waters, and have hewn for the people of God broken and polluted cisterns, being full of mud and dregs, which neither have in them any pure water, nor can hold it if it were in them. They have torn from the people the holy communion; the word of God, from which all true comfort could only be expected; the true worship of God; the right use of the sacraments and prayers of the church; and they have given us, to please ourselves withal, in the mean time, of their own pure invention, consecrated salts, waters, oils, spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, indulgences, crosses, censings, and an infinite number of ceremonies; and as Plautus calls others of the like nature, ludos ludificabiles, shows and pageants, that are very diverting, and good for nothing else. In these things they have made all religion to consist; and they have taught the people, that by these things God is rightly appeased, and that by these things devils are put to flight, and the consciences of men quieted and confirmed. For these are the paints and perfumes of Christianity; these are the grateful and acceptable things to the all-seeing God; these are to be had in honour, that Christ's and his apostles' institutions may be taken away. And as heretofore, the wicked king Jeroboam, when he had taken away the true service of God, and persuaded the people instead of it to accept the golden calves, for fear they might change their minds, and fall from him, and return to the temple of God at Jerusalem —made a long oration to them, exhorting them to constancy, saying to them, "These are thy gods, O Israel; thus did your God command you to worship him. But it would be very grievous and troublesome for you to take so long a journey, and to go up every year to worship and adore God at Jerusalem:"—even so our adversaries, when they had once, by their traditions, quashed the laws of God, lest the people should afterwards open their eyes, and fall off from them, and seek a better way of assuring their salvation; oh! how often have they exclaimed, that this is the true worship of God, which he is pleased with, and hath required of us, and by which he will be appeased when he is angry! and that it is grievous and troublesome to the people to have recourse to Christ and the apostles and

fathers, and to attend perpetually what they require of them.

Is this their way of bringing the people of God off from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the scribes and pharisees, and from human traditions? Are the commandments of Christ and his apostles to be taken away, that these goodly things may succeed them? Oh most righteous cause! why should an old doctrine, which hath been approved for many ages, be antiquated, and a new form of religion be brought into the church of God? Ay, but say they, be it what it will, nothing ought to be changed; the minds of men are wondrously well satisfied with these things; the church of Rome has so decreed, and she cannot err; for Sylvester Prierias saith, "The church of Rome is the rule and model of truth, and the holy Scriptures have received from her all their faith and authority." "The doctrine of the church of Rome is the infallible rule of faith, from whence the Holy Scriptures have all their strength. For indulgences were not made known to us by the authority of Scriptures, but they were made known by the authority of the church and popes of Rome, which is greater than the Scriptures!" Pighius does not fear to say, That without the command of the church of Rome we are not to believe the most clear place of Scripture; which is just as good as if one of those who cannot speak good and pure Latin, and yet by use and custom has got the faculty readily and fluently to blunder on in the lawyers' Latin, should therefore stand stoutly to it, that all others are bound to speak it after the same manner that was many years since in use with Mammetrectus and the Catholicon, which they still use in their pleadings; because by that means men might very easily be understood, and their humours might be gratified; but, on the other side, that it were ridiculous to trouble the world now with a new way of speaking, and to reduce to practice the old purity and eloquence of the Latin tongue used in the times of Cicero and Cæsar.

10. So much are they indebted to the ignorance and blindness of the former times, that, as one saith, Many things are often had in great esteem, because they were once dedicated to the service of the gods. So now we see many things are magnified and applauded by them, not because they judge them worthy of this esteem; but only because by custom they were once received, and thereby in a

sort dedicated to the service of God. But they pretend that their church cannot err. I suppose they speak this in the same sense as the Lacedemonians were wont to say, there was no such thing as adultery in their commonwealth; when in truth they were all adulterers, and used an uncertain sort of marriages, and had their wives in common; or, as the hungry canonists now say of the pope, that he being lord of all benefices, although he sells bishoprics, monasteries, and livings, and suffers nothing to go from him without money, yet because he claims all those as his own, though he would, yet he cannot commit simony. But then how well or rationally this is spoken, we poor men cannot see or understand, except that as the ancient Romans served victory, so they have served truth; for when she once came flying to them, they clipped her wings, that she might no more fly from them.

But what if Jeremiah should tell them, as we have observed above, that these are lying words? And what again, if he should say, that many pastors, who ought to have dressed, have destroyed my vineyard? chap. xii. 10. What if Christ should say, that those who should have taken the greatest care of the temple, have made the house of God a den of thieves? Matt. xxi. 13. For if the church of Rome cannot err, she is more beholden to her own good fortune, than to their prudence or care; for such are their lives, doctrines, and diligence, that if we are to take our measures from thence, this church is not only in danger of falling into error, but of a total ruin and destruction. And certainly if that church can err, which hath departed from the word of God, the commandments of Christ, the institutions of the apostles, the examples of the primitive church, and from the canons and sanctions of the ancient fathers—and councils; yea, and from her own too—which will be obliged by neither old nor new laws, by neither her own nor any others, by neither divine nor human laws; I say, if all this be to err, then it is certain that the church of Rome not only may err, but that she hath most wickedly and shamefully erred.

11. But they say, we were once of their communion, but now we are apostates, and have departed from them. Indeed we have departed from them, and we bless the great and holy God for it, and please ourselves mightily in it; but then we have not departed from the primitive church, from the apostles, from Christ; we were

educated indeed with them in darkness and ignorance of God, as Moses was in the discipline and bosom of the Egyptians. "We were of your number," saith Tertullian, "and I confess it; but what wonder is there in that? Men are made, and not born Christians." But then I may as well ask them, why they have descended from the seven hills on which the ancient city of Rome stood, to dwell in the plains in the Martian field, to which, perhaps, they would reply, that the aqueducts, without which they could not conveniently dwell on those hills, have failed. Let them then but grant the same liberty in relation to the waters of life, which they expect we should afford them in regard of the common family water. The springs did now fail with them; The elders, saith Jeremiah, xiv. 3. sent their little ones to the waters; they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Or, as Isaiah saith, xli. 17. The poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst. They had broken all their conduits and water-courses; they had stopped up all the springs, and covered the fountains of living waters with mire and mud; and as Caligula, by shutting up all the public granaries, enjoined the people of Rome to fast; so they, by stopping up the fountains of the word of God, had enjoined the people to undergo the miseries of a destructive thirst; they have, as the prophet Amos saith, viii. 11. brought upon the world a famine; Not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord. Miserable men went about searching for a small spark of divine light to cheer their consciences; but they were all gone out, and they could find none: this was the miserable condition and state of their church; men lived wretchedly in it, without the gospel, and without light or consolation.

12. And, therefore, how afflictive soever our departure from them may seem to them, yet they ought at the same time to consider how just the cause of it was. For if they say in general, it is not lawful to leave that society in which thou wert educated, this were in our persons to condemn the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself; for why? Is it not as reasonable to blame Lot for leaving Sodom; Abraham, for leaving Chaldea; the Hebrews, for leaving Egypt; Christ, for leaving the Jews; and St. Paul, for leaving the pharisees? For, except it be granted that there may be a

just cause of departure, we can see no cause why these may not, in the same manner as we are, be accused of faction and sedition. But, if we are to be thought heretics because we will not obey all their unjust commands, what are they? Who or what are they to be thought, who have contemned the commands of Christ and his apostles? If we are schismatics, who have forsaken them, by what name shall we call those who have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received the Christian faith; the primitive church, Christ, and the apostles, who were their spiritual parents? For the Greek church, who at this day profess the religion and name of Christ, although they have in many things contaminated it, yet they still retain a great part of those things which they received from the apostles. And so they have no private masses, no maimed sacraments, no purgatory, nor indulgences: and as to the papal titles, and magnificent names, they have this esteem of them, that whoever calls himself "the universal bishop," and the "head of the whole church," is a proud man, and injurious to all the other bishops, who are his brethren; nor will they scruple on this single account to call him heretic.

13. But now, seeing it is apparent, and cannot be denied, that they have made a defection from those from whom they received the gospel, the Christian faith, and religion; yea, and the very being of a church—what cause is there to be given, why they should not return back to them as to their original? Why should they so much dread the times of the fathers and apostles as if they had seen nothing? Why, do they see more, or love the church better, than they who delivered what they have to them? For as for us, we have forsaken a church in which we could neither hear the pure word of God, nor administer the sacraments, nor invoke the name of God, as we ought; which they themselves acknowledge to be faulty in many things, and in which there was nothing to retain a prudent man, who thought seriously of his salvation. Lastly, we have departed from a church which is not now what she was aforetime; and so we have departed as Daniel did out of the den of lions; as the three children did out of the fiery furnace; or, to speak more properly, we have not so much departed from them, as been cast out by them with execrations and curses.

14. But then we have united ourselves to that church, in which if they would speak their minds truly and freely, they themselves cannot deny but that all things are purely and

reverently administered, and, as far as we can possibly, according to the example and manner of the ancient times. 1. Let them compare their church and ours together, and they will soon see that they have most basely departed from the apostles, and we have most justly and reasonably departed from them. For we, with Christ, and the apostles and primitive fathers, give the entire and whole eucharist to the people; but they, contrary to the practice of all the fathers and apostles, and of Christ himself, divide that sacrament, with a high sacrilege, as Gelasius expresses it, and deprive the people of one half of it. 2. We have recalled the Lord's supper to its first institution, and have made it common to as many as was possible, that it might be, as it is called, a communion. But they, contrary to the institution of Christ, of a holy communion have made it a private mass; and so we give the people the Lord's supper, but they entertain them with a vain show. 3. We affirm, with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is eaten by none but holy and faithful men, who are endowed with the Spirit of Christ. But they say, that the very body of Christ may be truly, and, indeed—or, as they express it—"really and substantially" eaten, not only by impious and unbelieving men, but, which is abominable to be spoken, by mice and dogs. 4. We pray so in our churches, that according to St. Paul's admonition, 1 Cor. xiv. the people may know what is prayed, and understandingly answer Amen to the common prayers. They, like tinkling brass, pour out in the church unknown and strange words, without understanding, sense, or meaning; and take all the care they can, that the people may understand nothing. 5. And that we may not mention all the differences, because they are almost infinite, we have turned the Holy Scriptures into all languages, and they will scarcely allow them to be extant in any tongue. We invite the people to read and hear the word of God; they drive them away from it. We desire the cause in controversy should be understood by all; but they fly from judgment. We trust to knowledge; they to ignorance. We trust to the light; and they to the darkness. We venerate, as it is fit we should, the words of the apostles and prophets; they burn them. Lastly, in the cause of God, we desire to stand or fall by the judgment of God alone, and they would stand only by their own. Now, therefore, if they would consider all these things with a sedate and quiet mind, well disposed to hear and learn, they would not only approve our design,

who, having left their errors, have applied ourselves to follow Christ and his apostles; but they would likewise fall off from themseves, and certainly unite with us in our way.

THE SIXTH PART.

1. But in the next place they pretend, that it is altogether unlawful to attempt any of these things, without the consent of a general council; because in that is lodged all the power of the church; and Christ hath promised, that there he will never fail to be present. But, as I said, they have violated the commandments of God, the decrees of the apostles, and almost all the institutions and doctrines of the primitive church, without ever expecting any such sacred council.

2. And whereas they pretend that it is not lawful for any church to change any thing without a general council,—who imposed these laws upon us, or from whence had they this edict? That king (Agesilaus) acted very ridiculously, who, when he was assured by an oracle of the will and pleasure of Jupiter, the great heathen god, referred the thing again to Apollo, that he might see whether he were of the same mind with his father Jupiter. But we should act much more imprudently, if when we have heard God himself speaking to us in the Scriptures, and thereby know his will and pleasure, as if all this were nothing, we should after all refer the thing to a council; which is nothing better than to try whether God and man are both of one mind, and whether men will please to approve and enforce the laws of God by their authority. For, what! Shall not truth be truth except a council is pleased to will and require it? or shall not God be God without their consent? If Christ at the beginning would have acted thus, and would neither have taught nor spoken any thing without the authority of the high priests, and if he had referred his whole doctrine to Annas and Caiaphas, where had the Christian faith been now? or who had ever heard of the gospel? St. Peter, whom the pope mentions more frequently, and with greater eulogies, than he doth Jesus Christ himself, confidently withstood the sacred council, and replied, It is better to obey God than man,

Acts iv. 19. And St. Paul, when he had once thoroughly imbibed the gospel, and that neither from man, nor by man, but only by the will of God, deliberated not with flesh and blood, Gal. i. 12, 16. nor did he refer the thing to his kinsmen and brethren, but straightway went into Arabia, that he might there publish the divine mysteries which he had learned of God himself.

3. We do not despise councils, nor the meetings and consultations of bishops and learned men; nor have we done what we have done, without bishops and a council—the thing was debated a long time in a full assembly of the states. But what we may expect from that council which is now pretended to be held by pope Pius IV.* in which men are with such facility condemned, uncalled, unheard, and unseen, is not very difficult to conjecture. When Nazianzen in his times saw men in these meetings so blind and obstinate that they were wholly led by their affections, and that they sought victory more than truth, he confidently said, that he never saw a good end put to any of the councils.—What would he now say if he were living, and understood their transactions? for then, although there was some faction and partiality, yet causes were heard and considered, and manifest apparent errors were taken away by their united suffrages. But our adversaries will not so much as suffer the cause to be freely debated, nor will they suffer any one of the many errors that are crept into the church to be changed; for they are wont frequently and impudently to boast that their church cannot err; that there is not the least fault in it; that nothing was to be yielded to us; or that, if any thing were granted, it was to be at the discretion of the bishops and abbots; that they were the sole moderators of affairs, and that they were the church of God. Aristotle saith, that bastards cannot make a civil society or state, and they may consider whether they are any better qualified for the making of a church of God; for certainly they are neither lawful abbots, nor genuine bishops. But suppose they are in the church, suppose they are to be heard in councils, and that they have the sole right of voting, yet in ancient time, when the church of God was well governed, especially if it be compared with their church, as St. Cyprian acquaints us, the presbyters and deacons, and some

* The later sessions of the council of Trent, which terminated in 1563. See Jewell's letter to Scipio.

part also of the laity, were then called to assist at the hearing of ecclesiastical causes.

4. But what now if these abbots and bishops know nothing? What if they know not what religion is, nor what they ought to believe of God? What if the law hath perished from the priests, and counsel from the elders? What if, as Micah saith, iii. 6. the night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of a divination? What if, as Isaiah saith, lvi. 10. the watchmen of the city are all blind, they are all ignorant? and what if the salt, as Christ saith, Matt. v. 13. hath lost its force and savour, and is become good for nothing, not fit even to be cast upon the dunghill? For they defer all to the pope, who cannot err; but this would be absurd. It would be to suppose that the Holy Ghost should be sent by a carrier from the holy council to Rome, that if any doubt or stop happens which he cannot expedite, he may take better instruction and counsel from I know not what more learned spirit!* For if it must come to this at last, what need is there that so many bishops should with such great expense be called from very distant places at this time to Trent? It had certainly been more prudent, and much better, a shorter and an easier way, to have at first turned over all this business to the pope, and have gone directly to the oracle of his sacred breast; besides, it is unjust to devolve our cause from so many bishops and abbots to the judgment of any one man, and, above all others, to the judgment of the pope, who is accused by us of many very great crimes; and though he hath not answered for his own misdemeanors, yet hath presumed to condemn us before we were called, and that without any trial.

Now, do we invent all this? Or is it not now the man-

* The church of Rome would have it believed that the determinations of the general council at Trent were immediately influenced by the Holy Spirit. It however was notorious that no decision was made, excepting by the immediate directions of the pope. Several profane jests upon this assumption of the influences of the Holy Spirit upon its decrees were then current.

It was a common proverb in the time of the council of Trent, that the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to the council in a cloak-bag, which was spoken in derision of the council's depending too much upon the directions sent them very frequently from thence by carriers, as father Paul acquaints us in his history of that council; and to this proverb our author in this place alludes.

Jewell adds in the Defence, "We JEST NOT AT GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT. We know that it is the same Spirit of Wisdom that hath renewed the face of the world and discovered the multitude of your follies."

ners of our late councils? Are not all things referred to the pope by the council; so that as if nothing were done by so many sentences and subscriptions, he alone may add, diminish, abrogate, approve, relax, and restrain whatsoever he please? Whose words are these? why did the bishops and abbots, in the end of the late council of Trent, put in these words as a part of their decree: "Saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see?" or why did pope Pascal write thus insolently of himself, "As if any councils could prescribe a law to the church of Rome, when all councils are held by the authority of the church of Rome, and derive their force from it too; and whereas they do patiently in their decrees except the authority of the pope of Rome?" If they will confirm and approve these things, why are councils called? but if they are indeed repealed and abrogated, why are they still left in their books as if they were in force?

5. Well, but suppose, in the next place, that the pope, though one, is above all councils; that is, that he is a part greater than the whole, has more power, yea, and more wisdom too, than all his party besides; and that, in spite of Jerome's judgment, the authority of this one city is greater than that of the whole world. What if he has seen none of these things, and has neither read the Holy Scriptures, nor the ancient fathers, nor so much as any of his own councils? What if, like pope Liberius of old, he becomes an Arian? or, like pope John, who lived not many years since, thinks very ignorantly and wickedly of the immortality of the soul, and of the life to come? or, as pope Zosimus heretofore corrupted the council of Nice,* so he, for the enlarging of his own power, should corrupt the other councils, and aver, that those things were deliberated and constituted by the holy fathers in them which were never so much as thought of? and that, as Camotensis saith the popes do frequently, he should offer violence to the Holy Scriptures, that he might thereby possess himself of a plenitude of power?—What if he renounce the Christian faith, and become an apostate, as Lyra saith many popes have done? What! will the Holy Spirit, for all these things, knock at the cabin of his breast, and obtrude such a light upon him contrary to his inclinations, and against his will, that he shall not err though he would? Or shall such a pope as this be the fountain of all laws, and all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge be

* See Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer.

notwithstanding found in him, as in a cabinet? Or, if these things be not in him, can he nevertheless judge well and conveniently of things of this great weight? Or, if he be not qualified to judge of them, does he yet desire that all these things should be referred to him alone? What now, if the pope's advocates, the abbots and bishops, dissemble nothing, but declare themselves openly to be the enemies of the gospel, and will not see what they do see, but wrest the Scriptures, and knowingly and willingly, deprave and adulterate the word of God, and foully and impiously transfer to the pope, what is perspicuously and properly spoken of the person of Christ only, and cannot be applied to any other mortal? What if they say, that the pope is all and above all; or that he can do all those things which Christ can do; or that the tribunal and consistory of the pope is the same with Christ's; or that the pope is that light which came into the world, which Christ spake of himself only, and that he that doth evil hateth that light, and fleeth from it; or that all other bishops have received of his fulness?* Or, lastly, what if they do without dissimulation or obscurity, clearly and manifestly determine contrary to the word of God? Shall whatever they say, nevertheless, presently become gospel? shall such as these be the army of God? will Christ be present with such men? will the Spirit of God move upon their tongues, or may they say truly, It seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to us? Acts xv. 28.

6. Petrus a Soto, and his voucher Hosius, make no scruple to affirm, that the very council which condemned our Saviour to death, had then the spirit of prophecy and truth, and the Holy Ghost, with them. And that what those high priests said, was not false and vain, when they said, We have a law, and by that law he ought to die; that in this, according to Hosius, they gave a true judgment, and that their decree was perfectly just, by which Christ was adjudged worthy of death! It is a wonder in the mean time, these men cannot defend themselves, and propagate their own cause, except at the same time they undertake the patronage of Annas and Caiaphas. For what council will these men ever acknowledge to be vicious and erroneous, who say that was a lawful and good council in which the Son of God was most ignominiously condemned to the death of the

* These, and many other texts of Scripture referring to Christ, have been applied to the pope! Some of them were openly cited in the speeches of prelates at the council of Trent.

cross? And yet considering what almost all these councils have been, it was necessary for them thus to pronounce of the council held by Annas and Caiaphas. But are they ever likely to be the men which are to reform the church, who are at once the judges and the criminals? Will they ever lessen their pride and ambition? Will they depose themselves, and give judgment against themselves, that the bishops shall not be unlearned, slow bellies, multiply benefices, carry themselves like princes, nor bear arms? Will the pope's beloved sons, the abbots, decree, that the monk who doth not earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, is a thief? or that it is not lawful for them to live in the city, or in a crowd of men, or of that which belongs to another; that a monk ought to lie upon the bare ground; to live hardly with herbs and pease; to study hard, dispute, pray, and labour to prepare himself for the service of the church? It is as reasonable to expect that the scribes and pharisees will reform the temple, and of a den of thieves will again make it become a house of prayer!

7. There were some amongst them who observed that many errors were crept into the church; pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, cardinal Pool, Pighius, and others, as we have said. After which, they had a council at Trent, in the same place where there is one now indicted.* Many bishops and abbots, and others who ought to be in a council, met; they were alone, and there was nobody to disturb them, whatever they did; for they had taken care to exclude all that were for the reformation, and there they sat with a great expectation six years. In the first six months they decreed many things concerning the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which were pious, but no way necessary for those times; and yet of all these clear, manifest, confessed errors which had gotten into the church, what one single error or corruption have they reformed? from what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people? what superstition have they taken away? what part of their tyranny and pomp have they abated or diminished? As if the world were so blind, that it could not see and observe that this is a conspiracy, rather than a council, and that all the bishops which the pope has there called together, are sworn and addicted to his interest, and resolved beforehand, not to do any thing but what shall please him and increase his power, and which they see he desires; or that votes

* Summoned.

there are not numbered, rather than considered or weighed; or that the wiser and better part of the council is not often overborne by the greater, but worse part of it? And therefore we know perfectly well, that many good men and catholic bishops, when such councils were indicted, and they saw clearly that parties and factions were served by them, and that they should lose their pains, and harden the minds of their adversaries by their opposition, without doing the least good, have wisely stayed at home, and refused to be present in them. Athanasius would not come to the council at Cæsarea, when he was called by the emperor, seeing he should there meet an enraged parcel of enemies; and afterwards when he came to the council of Syrmium, and in his mind foresaw, from the fury and malice of his enemies, what the event would be, he packed up his carriages, and went away immediately. Chrysostom, though he was called four times by letters from Arcadius the emperor, to an Arian council, yet stayed at home. When Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, sat in a council in Palestine, the old father Paphnutius took him by the hand and led him out of it, and then told him, "It is not lawful for us to consult about these things with wicked men." The bishops of the west would not be present at that council at Syrmium, from which Athanasius departed. Cyril by letters appealed from the council of the Patropassians, as they were called; Paulinus, bishop of Treves, and many others, would not come to the council of Milan, when they saw the power and intrigues of Auxentius; for they saw it was to no purpose to go thither, where faction, and not reason, would be heard, and where causes would be certainly determined by affection and passion, and not by judgment. But then all these, though they were to deal with enraged and obstinate adversaries, yet if they had come, they should have been freely heard in the council.

8. But now no man need wonder, when none of us are permitted, not only not to sit, but not so much as to be seen in their council. So far are we from being freely heard, when the pope's legates, and all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, are in a conspiracy, and united by their common crimes, all sworn in the same oath, alone sit, and have alone the power of voting—and, as if all this were not enough, have submitted all their judgments to the will and humour of the pope alone; that he who ought to answer for his own faults, shall give sentence in his own cause

upon himself, when that ancient Christian liberty which it is absolutely necessary should be very great in councils, is totally taken away. I say, after all this, wise and good men ought not to wonder, if we do now that which they have seen done in the like case, by so many fathers and catholic bishops; which is, that seeing we cannot be heard in the council, and that the ambassadors of princes are had in contempt and scorn there; and as if the thing were already determined and agreed, we are condemned before we are heard; if after all this we had rather sit at home and commit the business to God, than go thither, where we shall have no place, nor effect any thing.

But though we can patiently and quietly bear our own injuries, yet why should they shut Christian and pious princes out of their councils? Why do they so rudely and insolently put them out, and not suffer them to hear the business of religion debated, or to understand the state of their own churches, as if they were not Christians, or could not judge well of it? or if these princes interpose their authority, and do that which they may, are commanded, and ought to do, and which we know David and Solomon, and other good princes have done; that is, if they restrain the luxury of the priests, and compel them to do their duty, and keep them to it; if they pluck down idols, extirpate superstitions, and restore the worship of God to its ancient purity, why do they presently make an outcry, that these princes disturb all things, break in upon other men's offices, and act ill things and immodestly? What Scripture, I pray, hath excluded Christian princes from hearing these causes? Who, besides these men, ever decreed any such laws? But they will reply, that civil princes have learned to govern their states, and to manage arms, but they understand nothing of the mysteries of religion. And now, what is the pope at this day but a monarch or prince? and what are the cardinals, who are now scarcely suffered to be any other, but the children of kings and princes? What are the patriarchs, and for the most part the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, other than princes, dukes, and earls in the papal kingdom? and accordingly whithersoever they go, they are attended with a great retinue, and adorned with chains and collars of gold, and other ensigns of honour. And they have sometimes a peculiar habit belonging to them, as crosses, pillars, hats, mitres, and palls; which pomp the ancient bishops Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, were

not acquainted with; but then, excepting these outward ornaments, what do they teach, what do they speak, what do they do, and what do they live, so as becomes, I will not say a bishop, but a common Christian? Is it then of so mighty a consequence to go under this or that title; and, by changing nothing but a man's clothes, to be called a bishop?

9. Certainly it is a proud, injurious, and unjust thing, and not to be borne by Christian and prudent princes, to permit the sum of all that concerns religion to be managed by such men as these alone, who know nothing of the mysteries of religion, nor care to know any thing more than what belongs to their bellies and kitchens, and do not value any thing of religion as worth a rush, who are no better than blind men placed in a watch-tower; and that in the interim, a Christian and a catholic prince should stand like a trunk or a stock, and without vote, and without giving his judgment, only observe what they are pleased to command and impose upon him; and as if he had neither ears, nor eyes, nor mind, nor heart of his own, to receive without exception, and with a blindfold submission to do, whatever they are pleased to command him, although they are blasphemous and wicked things; yea, although they should command him to extinguish all religion, and to crucify his Saviour. For why? Can Caiaphas and Annas judge well of matters of religion, and cannot David and Hezekiah? Is it lawful for a cardinal, a martial and a bloody man, to sit in a council; and is it unlawful for an emperor and a Christian prince? For we attribute nothing more to our princes than what is allowed them by the word of God, and approved by the examples of the best governments. For besides that the care of both tables is committed by God to a faithful prince, that he may thereby understand, that not only civil affairs, but also sacred and ecclesiastical belong to his office; and besides that God hath often expressly commanded princes to cut down the groves, and overthrow the statues and altars of idols, to transcribe for himself a book of the law; and Isaiah saith, chap. xlix. 23. that kings should be nursing fathers to the church, and their queens her nursing mothers;—besides all these things, I say, we see by histories, and the examples of the best times, that pious princes never thought the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, a thing that was foreign to their duty.

10. Moses, who was the civil magistrate and leader of

the people, received from God the whole body of their religion, and the order of their sacred rites, and delivered them to the people, and severely and sharply chastised Aaron, their bishop, for making the golden calf, and violating the religion by law established. And Joshua, though he were no other than a civil magistrate, yet when he was first inaugurated and set over the people, he received express command concerning religion and the worship of God. David, the king, when their religion had been miserably disordered by Saul, a wicked king, brought back the ark of God, that is, restored religion. And he was not only present as an admonisher or persuader of the work, but he published psalms and hymns, disposed the priests and Levites into classes and orders, and in a sort governed the priests as a priest, 1 Chron. xiii. Solomon, the king, built a temple to the Lord, which his father David had only designed in his thoughts; and afterwards made an excellent oration to the people concerning religion and the worship of God. And after this, he removed Abiathar, the high-priest, and substituted Zadok in his place, 1 Kings viii. And when after this the temple was wretchedly ruined by the vice and negligence of the priests, Hezekiah the king commanded it to be cleansed of its rubbish and dirt, the lamps to be lighted, incense to be offered, and the sacred rites to be performed according to the ancient order; and caused the brazen serpent that was then irreligiously worshipped by the people, to be taken away and reduced to dust, 2 Chron. xxix. Jehoshaphat the king overthrew and took away all the high places, and destroyed the groves, by which he perceived the worship of God was hindered, and the people by a private superstition diverted from attending the service of God in the temple, to which they were bound to go three times in the year, out of all parts of his kingdom, 2 Chron. xvii. Josiah, another king, diligently admonished the priests and bishops of their duty. Joash, the king, repressed the luxury and insolence of the priests. Jehu slew the wicked false prophets, 2 Kings x. And that I may trouble the reader with no more examples out of the Scriptures, and rather pass to see and consider how the church has been governed since the birth of Christ and the publishing of the gospel: heretofore Christian emperors called councils of the bishops: Constantinus called the Nicene council; Theodosius I. the Constantinopolitan; Theodosius II. the Ephesian; Martianus, the Chalcedonian; and when Ruffinus

had alleged a synod as making for him, his adversary, Jerome, that he might confute him, replied, Tell us what emperor commanded it to be assembled? And he also, in his funeral oration for Paula, a Roman lady, cites the letters of the emperors who had commanded the Greek and Roman bishops to meet at Rome for the holding of a council.

11. It is most certain, that for five hundred years the emperors alone took care of calling all the general councils and sacred meetings, and therefore we do now the more wonder at the unreasonableness of the bishop of Rome, who, though he knows that during the subsistence of the Roman empire in its greatness, this was the sole right of the emperor, and that now kings have succeeded to part of the Cæsarean or imperial majesty, this right is devolved to all princes in common, yet has so unjustly usurped it to himself alone, and thinks it sufficient to communicate his design of holding a council to the greatest prince in christendom as to his servant. But if the modesty of Ferdinand the emperor be so great, perhaps because he does not thoroughly understand the papal arts, that he can digest this injury; yet the pope, who pretends to so much sanctity, ought not to have offered him this affront, and thus to have arrogated to himself another man's right.

12. But some of his party may reply, that the emperor then called the councils, because the bishop of Rome was not then arrived to that height of greatness; and yet he did not even then sit with the bishops, or at all interpose his authority in their deliberations and consultations: yet, as Theodoret acquaints us, Constantine the great did not only sit with the bishops, but admonished them to determine the controversy then depending out of the prophetic and apostolic writings. In this disputation, said the emperor, concerning divine things, there is set before us, which we ought to follow, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost; for the books of the evangelists and apostles, and the oracles of the prophets, do sufficiently show us what we ought to think of the will of God. Theodosius, another emperor, not only sat amongst the bishops, as Socrates saith, but also was moderator of the dispute, and rent the papers of the heretics, and approved the sentiments and doctrine of the catholics. And in the council of Chalcedon, the civil magistrate, who under the emperor governed that council, condemned three bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, by his sentence, for

heretics, and gave judgment that they should be deposed from that degree. In the third, the Constantinopolitan council, the civil magistrate not only sat with the bishops, but also subscribed the canons with them. We have read, said he, and subscribed them.

In the second council of Orange, the ambassadors of the princes, being noblemen themselves, sat, and not only voted concerning matters of religion, but also subscribed amongst the bishops; for thus it is written in the end of that council, Petrus Marcellinus and Felix Liberius, two noble and illustrious prætorian prefects of Gaul, and patricians, have consented and subscribed. Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariatho, and Marcellus, honourable men and magistrates, have subscribed. But if the prætorian prefects, and patricians, or noblemen, could then subscribe the councils, may not emperors and kings do it now? There were no need to prosecute so plain and apparent a point as this is, but that we have to do with a parcel of men who use to deny the clearest things, even those things which lie plain and open before their eyes, out of a contentious disposition and desire of victory. The emperor Justinian made a law for the correcting the manner and curbing the insolence of the clergy; and although he was a most Christian and catholic emperor, yet he deposed Sylverius and Vigilius, two popes, successors of St. Peter, and vicars of Jesus Christ, as they are now called!

13. And now seeing that princes have employed their authority upon bishops, received commands from God concerning religion, brought back the ark of God, composed sacred hymns and psalms, governed the priests, made public discourses concerning the worship of God, purged the temple, demolished high places, burnt idolatrous groves; and have admonished the priests concerning their office, and given them laws of living, have slain wicked prophets, deposed bishops, called councils of bishops, and sat with them, and taught them what they should do; have punished heretical bishops, have taken cognizance of religion, subscribed councils, and given sentence in them, and done all this, not by the command of another, but in their own names, and that rightly and piously;—shall we say, after all this, that the care of religion belongs not to them? or that a Christian prince, who is pleased to concern himself in these things, acts ill, immodestly, and wickedly? In all these affairs, the most ancient and most Christian kings and

emperors have intermeddled, and yet were never accused of impiety or immodesty for so doing; and will any pretend to find either more catholic princes or more illustrious examples?

14. But now, if they might do all these things, though they were only civil princes, and governed their several states; wherein have our princes offended, who, though they are in the same authority, may, it seems, not do the same things? Or, wherein consists the wonderful force of their learning, wisdom, and holiness, that, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who have heretofore deliberated with princes concerning religion, they should now reject and exclude Christian princes from the cognizance of the cause now depending, and from all participation and congress with them in their councils? But yet it cannot be denied they have taken a prudent care for themselves, and the upholding their kingdom, which they foresaw otherwise would soon have perished. For if they who are placed by God in the highest station, had once seen and understood these men's arts; that the commands of Christ are contemned by them, that the light of the gospel is obscured and extinguished by them, that they play tricks with and delude them, and shut up against them the entrance into the kingdom of God—they would never so patiently have suffered themselves to be so proudly despised, and injuriously scorned and abused. But now, on the other hand, they have rendered all princes obnoxious and subject to them by their blindness and ignorance.

15. We, as I said before, have done nothing in the changing of religion, either insolently or rashly; nothing but with great deliberation and slowly; nor had we ever thought of doing it, except the will of God, undoubtedly and manifestly opened to us in the most sacred Scriptures, and the necessity of our salvation, had compelled us so to do. For although we have departed from that church, which they call the catholic church, and thereupon they have kindled a great envy against us, in them who cannot well judge of us; yet it is enough for us, and ought to be so to any prudent and pious man, who considers seriously of his salvation, that we have only departed from that church which may err, which Christ, who cannot err, so long since foretold should err, and which we see clearly with our eyes has departed from the holy fathers, the apostles, Christ himself, and the primitive and catholic church. And we have

approached, as much as we could, the church of the apostles, and ancient catholic bishops and fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry or great and public error. We have directed, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments and the form of common prayer according to their customs and ordinances. And so we have only done that which we know Christ himself and all pious and godly men have in all ages ever done; for we have called home religion which was foully neglected and depraved by them, to her original and first state; for we considered that the reformation of religion was to be made by that which was the first pattern of it; for this rule will ever hold good against all heretics, saith the most ancient father Tertullian, That is true which is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later. Irenæus often appeals to the most ancient churches, who were the nearest to Christ, and which therefore were not at all likely to have erred. And why is not that course now taken also? why do we not return to a conformity with the most ancient churches? Why cannot that be now heard amongst us, which was pronounced in the council of Nice, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many bishops and catholic fathers; "Let the old customs stand firm?" When Ezra was to rebuild the temple, he did not send to Ephesus, though there was there a most beautiful temple of Diana, which was adorned most exquisitely; and when he was to restore the rites and ceremonies, he did not send to Rome, though perhaps he might have heard there of hecatombs,* &c. and the ritual books of Numa Pompilius. He thought it was sufficient for him if he set before him as an example, and followed the ancient temple built by Solomon, according to the prescription of God Almighty, and the ancient rites and ceremonies which God had expressly commanded Moses. When the temple was rebuilt by Ezra, and the people might seem to have a just cause to rejoice in so very great a blessing granted to them by the great and holy God, yet Haggai the prophet brought tears from all their eyes, because they that were yet living, and had seen the structures of the former before it was destroyed by the Babylonians, did well remember how far this latter was from the splendour of the

* Hecatombs, were offerings of a hundred victims. Jewell also mentions other ceremonials and rites used by the ancient Romans.

former temple. But, on the contrary, they would have thought it excellently restored, if it had answered the model, and represented the majesty of the old temple.

16. St. Paul, that he might reform the abuses of the Lord's supper, which the Corinthians began even then to corrupt, proposed to them to follow the institution of it by Christ. That, saith he, have I delivered to you which I received of the Lord. And Christ, that he might refute the errors of the pharisees in another case, sends them up to the beginning. In the beginning, saith he, it was not so. And that he might show the sordidness and avarice of the priests, This, saith he, in the beginning was a house of prayer, that men might pray to God in it religiously and purely; and so you ought still to have kept it, for it was not built to be a den of thieves. So all religious and approved princes in Scripture, are especially honoured with this commendation, that they walked in the ways of David their father; that is, that they returned to the original and fountain, and restored religion to its first integrity. And so we, seeing all things perverted by them, and that there was nothing left in the church of God but miserable ruins, thought it was but reasonable to set before us those churches for our example, which we were sure had not erred, and had neither private masses, nor unintelligible and barbarous prayers, nor that corruption of the holy rites, or other fooleries. And desiring to restore the church of God to its first integrity, and purity, we would not seek any other foundation to build upon, than what was laid by the apostles, that is, by our Saviour Jesus Christ.

17. When therefore we had heard God himself speaking to us in his word, and had seen and considered the illustrious examples of the ancient and primitive church, and that the expectation of a general council was very uncertain, and the event that would follow it much more uncertain; and especially when we had the utmost certainty what was the will of God, and therefore thought it a sin to be too solicitous and anxious what the opinion of men might be—after all this, I say, we could no longer deliberate with flesh and blood; but proceeded, and have accordingly done that which may both lawfully be done, and which hath already been often done by many pious men and catholic bishops; that is, to take care of our own church in a provincial synod. For so we see the ancient fathers ever took that course,

before they came to a general and public council of the whole world; and there are still extant the canons made in municipal or provincial councils, at Carthage under Cyprian, at Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and at Gangra also in Paphlagonia; all which, as some think, were held before the name of the Nicene general council was thought of. And in this manner, without any general council, by a private dispute, they of old opposed the Pelagians and Donatists. So, when Constantine the emperor openly favoured Auxentius, a bishop of the Arian party, Athanasius, a most Christian bishop, did not appeal to a general council, in which he saw nothing could be done, by reason of the power of the emperor, and the great partiality and stiffness of the faction, but to his own clergy and people, that is, to a provincial council.

18. So it was decreed in the Nicene council, that twice in the year, and in a Carthaginian council, that at least once in a year, meetings of the bishops should be celebrated in every province, which the council of Chalcedon saith was done, that if any errors or abuses arose any where, they might presently and upon the spot be extinguished. And so when Secundus and Palladius rejected the council of Aquileia, because it was not a public and general council, Ambrose, bishop of Milan, replied, that it ought not to seem new or strange, if the bishops of the west assembled in provincial conventions or synods; for it had been not seldom done by the western bishops before, and was very frequently by the Greek bishops. So Charles the great, emperor of Germany, held a provincial council in Germany, for the taking away images out of the church, against the second Nicene council, which had determined for them; nor is the thing new and unheard of in England; for we have heretofore had many provincial synods, and have governed our church by our own domestic laws, without the interposition of the popes of Rome, or any other foreign bishops or churches. What need is there of many words? Certainly, those greatest and fullest councils, of which these men so often glory, if they be compared with all the churches which throughout the world own and confess the name of Christ—what, I pray, can they seem to be, more than some private councils of the bishops, and a sort of great provincial synods? For though perhaps Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland should meet; yet Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there are many

Christians and bishops, would yet be absent; and how could such a council as this, ever be reputed a general council by any understanding man? And when so many and such considerable parts of the world are absent, how can they pretend to have the consent of the whole world? or what kind of council was the last at Trent, or how could it in any sense be said to be general, when only forty bishops met there, out of all the Christian kingdoms in Europe, and some of them too were so very eloquent, that it had been fit to send them to the grammar-schools again; and so learned, that they had never in all their lives read the Bible over?

But be these things as they will, the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ depends not upon general councils, nor, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. iv. 3. upon man's judgment. But if they who ought to take care of the church will not understand, and will be wanting to their duty, and will harden their hearts against God and against his Christ, and still go on to pervert the direct and straight ways of the Lord, God will make the stones to cry out, and endow infants with an oratorical eloquence, that there may ever be some to confute their shams; for God can protect and enlarge his church, not only without help, but against the opposition of councils. There are many devices in man's heart, saith Solomon, Prov. xix. 21. but the council of the Lord that shall stand; for there is neither wisdom, nor prudence, nor counsel against the Lord; for, saith Hilary, "Those things that are set up by human industry, do not continue long; the church was otherwise built, and must be preserved by other means; for she was built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, and is fixed and cemented together by one corner-stone, Jesus Christ."

18. Very elegant, and to our times most seasonable, are the words of Jerome: "As often as the devil lulls any asleep with the sweet blandishments of his syrens, the Holy Scriptures never fail to awaken them with, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, Eph. v. 14. At the coming of Christ, and of the word of God, and of the ecclesiastical doctrine, when the time of the ruin of Nineveh, that beautiful harlot, is come, then shall the people awake, who had before been lulled asleep under their former teachers, and they shall pass to the mountains of the Scriptures. There shall they find the mountains of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun; the mountains of the prophets, and the mountains of the New

Testament, the apostles and evangelists; and when the people are fled to these mountains, and are exercised in the reading of them, though they find no teacher, for the harvest shall be great, and the labourers few, yet the industry of the people shall be approved, in that they have fled to these mountains, and the negligence of their teachers shall be reprehended."

Thus hath Jerome written so very plainly, that here is no need of an interpreter, and with so great a congruity to the events which have happened in our times, that it looks as if he had designed to foretel and describe to us, with a prophetic spirit, the whole state of our times, the ruin of that richly-adorned Babylonish harlot, and the reformation of the church of God, the blindness and negligence of the bishops, and the alacrity and zeal of the people. For who can be so blind, as not to see that these were the masters, who, as Jerome saith, led the people into error, and stupefied them in it? or, that Rome, their Nineveh, which was once painted with the most lively colours, is not now better known and less valued; or, that pious men, being now as it were awakened out of a deep sleep, have betaken themselves to the mountains of the Scriptures, the word of God, and the light of the gospel, without ever expecting the counsels of such teachers as these?

19. But without the pope's consent at least, some may think, these things ought not to have been attempted, because, say they, he is the bond that unites the Christian society; he is that one priest, whom God means in Deuteronomy, from whom counsel was to be expected in all difficult cases, and from whom the judgment of truth was to be fetched; and if any man should dare to disobey him, he was to be put to death in the sight of his brethren; and whatsoever he doeth, he can be judged by no mortal man; that as Christ reigns in heaven, so he rules on earth; that he can do whatever Christ or God himself can do; that his consistory and Christ's are one and the same; that without him there is no faith, no hope, no church; that he who forsakes him, rejects his own salvation.

For thus the canonists, the flatterers of the pope, write not very modestly of him, for they could scarcely say more, and certainly not greater things, of Christ himself. As for us, we have not forsaken the pope for any human pleasure or worldly profit, and we wish rather, he would so conduct himself, that there should be no need of a departure from

him: but so it was, that except we left him, there was no coming to Christ; nor will he now enter a league with us upon any other terms than those proposed by Nahash, king of Ammon, to the men of Jabesh Gilead, that he may thrust out all our right eyes, 1 Sam. xi. 2. for he will deprive us of the Holy Scriptures, the gospel of our salvation, and of all that hope which we have in Christ Jesus; for upon other conditions no peace with him can be had.

20. And as to that which so many of them accustom themselves to extol so very much—that the pope only is St. Peter's successor—as if upon that account he always carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and so could not err, it is an airy and a silly pretence. The grace of God is promised to pious souls, and to those that fear God, and is not affixed to chairs and successions. "Riches," saith Jerome, "may render one bishop more powerful than another; but yet all bishops, whatever they are, are the successors of the apostles." But if the place and inauguration be what they so much rely on, Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas, Aaron; and an idol has often stood in the house of God. Long since, one Archidamus, a Lacedemonian, made a mighty boasting that he was descended from Hercules. One Nicostratus chastised his insolence, by telling him it did not seem probable that he could be descended from Hercules, because Hercules made it his business to rid the world of bad men, but, saith he, you make all the good men you can become bad. And when the pharisees boasted of their succession and lineage, that they were of the blood of Abraham, Christ replied, "Ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God; this did not Abraham; ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do," John viii. 40. 44.

But now suppose we should grant something to successions, does the pope only succeed St. Peter? In what thing? in what religion? in what function? in what part of his life? what one thing ever had St. Peter like the pope, or the pope like St. Peter, unless they will say, that when St. Peter was at Rome, he never taught the gospel, he never fed the flock; that he took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hid his Lord's treasure, that he only sat in the Lateran, and with his finger pointed out all the spaces of purgatory, and the several sorts of pains there; presently, and at his pleasure, dismissed some souls for money, and sent other miserable souls into torture; that

he taught them the use of private masses, which might be mumbled over in every corner; that he muttered the sacred mysteries in a soft low voice, and in a strange language; that he hanged up the eucharist, or consecrated bread, in every church, and enshrined it on every altar, and carried it before him wherever he went on an ambling jennet, with lights and bells; that he consecrated oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, temples, and altars, with his sacred breath; that he sold jubilees, graces, immunities, expectancies, preventions, first fruits, palls, the use of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; that he called himself the head of the church, the high priest, the bishop of bishops, and the only most holy; that he usurped authority over other churches; that he exempted himself from all civil power; that he made wars, set discord amongst princes; that he was carried upon the shoulders of noblemen in a gilded chair, with a triple crown full of labels or tassels, with a Persian gallantry, adorned with a royal sceptre, and a golden diadem glittering with jewels. Did St. Peter heretofore do all these things at Rome, and, as it were, from hand to hand deliver them down to his successors? for all these things are now done at Rome, and that in such manner as if nothing else ought to be done.

21. Unless perhaps they would be better pleased with turning the table, and saying, that the pope does all those things which we know heretofore St. Peter did; that he travels into all countries, preaches the gospel, not only publicly, but privately from house to house; that he insists opportunely and inopportunely, in season and out of season; that he does the work of an evangelist, and performs the ministry of Christ; that he is the watchman of the house of Israel; that he receives the oracles and word of God, and delivers them, as he received them, to the people; that he is the salt of the earth, the light of the world; that he feeds not himself, but the flock; that he does not entangle himself with the civil affairs of this life; that he does not exercise lordship and dominion over the people of the Lord; that he does not seek to be ministered to by others; but rather that he may minister to others. That he thinks, with St. Peter, that all bishops are his companions and equals;* that he submits himself to princes, as to them that are sent

* 1 Pet. v. i. St. Peter there styles himself, "Your fellow presbyter."

by God; that he renders to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and, which all the ancient bishops of Rome without exception have done, calls the emperor his lord. Now, unless the pope at this day do these things, or that St. Peter did the others which we have set forth in the foregoing paragraph, there seems to be no reason why he should so strangely value himself upon the account, either of St. Peter's name or succession.

22. There is much less cause for them to complain so dreadfully as they do, of our departure from them, and to recall us back again to their society and faith. There is a story, that one Cobilon, a Lacedemonian, being sent to make a league with the king of Persia, and finding by chance his courtiers playing at dice, he returned forthwith, without despatching or mentioning the business he came about. Being examined upon his return home, why he had not executed the public commission they had given him; he replied, that it seemed to him to be a great dishonour to their commonwealth, if he had made an alliance with a parcel of dicers. Now, if we should return to the pope and the popish errors, and make a league, not only with dicers, but with men infinitely more debauched, it would not only bring an ill report upon our fame and reputation, but would be pernicious and destructive to us, by incensing the wrath of God against us, and burdening and wasting our consciences. For we have only left him, who we saw had for many ages blinded the nations of the earth, and departed from him who with too much insolence pretends that he cannot err, and that whatever he does, he cannot be judged by any mortal man, no, not by kings nor emperors, nor all the clergy, nor all the people, though he should carry a thousand souls with him to hell —from him who assumed dominion not only over men, but over the angels of God, commanding them, when he pleased, to go and come, and carry souls to purgatory, and bring them back again, as his holiness thought fit; whom Gregory the great styled plainly the forerunner and harbinger of antichrist, and an apostate from the faith; from whom those champions, who now so vigorously oppose the gospel, and that truth they are very well satisfied of, have every man of them heretofore fallen, and would now again freely and willingly leave him, if the note and shame of being thought too inconstant, and their credits with the

people, did not hinder them from it.* Lastly, we have departed from him to whom we were no way bound, and who hath nothing to pretend for our submission to him; but I know not what genius of the place and the succession he possesseth.

23. And we, of all the nations in christendom, have had the greatest reason to desert the pope. For our kings, even those who followed the faith and authority of the bishops of Rome, with the utmost observance and deference, a long time since, sufficiently felt the weight of their yoke, and groaned under the tyranny of the papal kingdom. For the Roman bishops plucked the diadem from off the head of our Henry II. and compelled him to wait upon their legate in a private habit, without any of the ensigns of majesty, that he might be exposed to the contempt of all his subjects. And another bishop of Rome armed against king John, another of our princes, the bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, and absolved all his subjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him, and at last, by the highest impiety, not only deprived him of his kingdom, but his life. And they wounded Henry VIII. with their curses and excommunications, and stirred up against him sometimes the emperor, and sometimes the king of France, and, as much as in them lay, exposed our kingdom to be a prey and a booty to them; like a company of silly men as they were, to think so great a prince would be frighted with vizors and rattles, or that so great a kingdom could be devoured at one mouthful. And, as if all this had not been enough, they would needs make England a tributary province, and yearly most unjustly exacted a considerable revenue out of it—so much has the friendship of the city of Rome cost us.

Now, if they extorted these great advantages from us by impostures and ill arts, there is no reason why we should not by good methods and laws recover them back again. But if, on the other side, our kings, induced by an opinion of their simulated holiness, in the darkness of those times freely bestowed these things on them, upon the account of

* See Jewell's Letters to P. Martyr. Jewell in this place refers to several English bishops who had been Protestants in the reign of Edward the sixth, and turning papists again in the reign of queen Mary, were ashamed to take a third turn now in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and so not only stiffly persisted now in popery, but were more clamorous against the Reformation than others were.

religion, there is now very good reason that our latter kings, having discovered the errors of their ancestors, should take them away again, they being possessed of the same power with the former kings; for every donation becomes void, when it is no longer approved by the will of the giver; but it can never seem a will, which is clouded and impeded by error.

THE CONCLUSION.

1. Thus I have acquainted thee, my reader, that it is no new nor strange thing, to see the Christian religion in these days, upon its restitution and revival in the world, entertained with slanders and reproaches, for the same things happened to Christ himself and his apostles. And yet, lest thou shouldest be misled and imposed upon by these clamours of our adversaries, we have represented to thee what the whole manner of our religion is; what we believe concerning God the Father, concerning his only Son Jesus Christ, and concerning the Holy Ghost; what our opinion is concerning the church, the sacraments, the ministry, the Holy Scriptures, the ceremonies of the church, and all the other parts of the Christian religion. We have declared also, that we detest, as pernicious to the souls of men, and as plagues, all those ancient heresies that have been condemned by the old councils and Holy Scriptures; that we have reduced into practice again, as much as we can possibly, the ecclesiastical discipline, which our adversaries had much weakened; and that we punish all licentious courses of life and debauchery in manners, by our ancient and established laws, and that with as much severity as is fit and possible; that we preserve all kingdoms in the same state we found them, without any diminution or mutation, and preserve the majesty of our princes entire as much as we can possibly. Also that we have departed from that church, which they had made a den of thieves, in which they had left nothing sound or like a church, and which they themselves confessed to have erred in many things, as Lot left Sodom, or Abraham Chaldea, not out of contention, but out of obedience to God; and have sought the certain way of religion out of the sacred Scriptures, which we know cannot deceive us, and have returned to the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is, to the beginning and first rise of the church, as to the proper fountain.

2. That we have not indeed expected the authority or consent of the council of Trent, in which we saw nothing was managed well and regularly; where all that entered took an oath to one man; where the ambassadors of our princes were despised and illtreated; where none of our divines could be heard; where partiality and ambition openly carried all things; and according to the practice of the holy fathers, and the customs of our own ancestors, we have reformed our churches in a provincial synod; and according to our duty we have cast off the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, who had no just authority over us, nor was like either Christ or St. Peter, or the apostles, or indeed like a bishop in any thing. Lastly, we do all agree amongst ourselves, in all the doctrines and points of the Christian religion, and do with one spirit and one mouth worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Wherefore, O Christian and pious reader, now thou seest the reasons and causes of the reformation of religion with us, and our departure from them, thou oughtest not to wonder that we should rather choose to obey our Saviour than men. St. Paul hath admonished us, Rom. xvi. 17, 18. that "we should not be carried away with every wind of false doctrine," and especially that we should mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple. Their impostures accordingly, like bats and owls, do now sometime since begin to fly and steal away before the rising sun, and cannot endure the light of the gospel; and although they were in some sense built and heaped almost up to heaven, yet they sink down into ruins of their own accord; for thou oughtest not to think that those things happened accidentally or by chance. It was certainly the will of God, that in these times the gospel of Jesus Christ should, in defiance of all opposition, be spread abroad in the world; and therefore men, being moved by the word of God, freely betook themselves to the doctrine of Christ; and as for us we sought neither riches nor pleasure, nor ease, by this change; for our adversaries abound in all these, and we had a much larger share of them, whilst we continued with them.

4. Nor do we decline concord and peace with men, but yet we will not continue in a state of war with God, that

we might have peace with men. "The name of peace," saith Hilary, "is pleasant, but then peace and servitude are not the same thing; for if, according to their desire, the name of Christ should be suppressed, the truth of the gospel betrayed, their wicked errors be dissembled, the eyes of Christian men be deluded, and a plain and apparent conspiracy be carried on against God himself; this is not peace but the conditions of a most base slavery." "There is," Nazianzen saith, "an unprofitable peace, and there is a useful sort of discord; for we must pursue peace with conditions as far as is lawful, and in us lieth!" and unless these limitations may attend it, Christ himself came not to bring peace into the world, but a sword.

5. Wherefore if the pope does indeed desire we should be reconciled to him, he ought first to reconcile himself to God; for, as Cyprian saith, "Schisms arise from hence, that the head is not sought, and a return is not made to the fountain of the Holy Scriptures, and the precepts of our heavenly Master are not kept; for else, it is not peace, but war; neither can any man be united to the church, who is separated from the gospel." But these men with whom we are concerned, do use to make a base gain by the name of peace; for the peace they seek is only a peace of idle bellies; for all these controversies betwixt us and them might with great facility be ended, if ambition, gluttony, and luxuries did not hinder it; and from hence proceed all their tears; their souls are in their dishes, and all their loud clamours and noise are only that they may basely and wickedly keep what they have acquired knavishly.

6. In these times the pardoners, dataries, collectors, and pimps of the court of Rome make the greatest complaints against us, who, with others of their trade, think that great gain is godliness, and serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; for in the foregoing ages this sort of men had a very profitable employment; but now whatever is gained to Christ, turns, as they think, to their loss. Yea, his holiness too complains sadly, that piety is grown cold, and his revenue is become much smaller than heretofore it was; and therefore the "good man" does his utmost to make us hated, loads us with reproaches, and condemns us for heretics, without any mercy, that they who know not the real cause of all this, may thereby be induced to believe us the very worst of men. And yet in the interim we are not therefore ashamed, nor indeed ought we to be so, of the

gospel of Jesus Christ, because we esteem the glory of God more than the good opinion of men. We know that all we teach is true, and we cannot offer violence to our own consciences, nor give testimony against God; for if we deny any part of the gospel of Jesus Christ before men, he will in like manner deny us before his Father; and if there be any that will be offended, and cannot bear the doctrine of Christ, they are blind, and the leaders of the blind; but the truth is still to be preached and owned, and we must patiently expect the judgment of God.

7. And in the interim our adversaries should do well to bethink themselves seriously of their own salvation, and to put an end to their raging hatred and persecution of the gospel of the Son of God, that at last they may not find him the vindicator and avenger of his own cause; for God will not be had in derision; and men, too, now see what is doing; that the flame, the more it is repressed, with so much the greater violence it breaks out again, and displays itself. Their infidelity and unbelief shall never be able to frustrate or put a stop to the faith of God; and if they shall still persist in the hardness of their hearts, and refuse to receive the gospel of Jesus Christ, the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before them, Matt. xxi. 31.

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open all their eyes, that they may see that blessed hope to which they are called, that we may altogether glorify the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent down to us from heaven; to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be rendered all honour and glory to all eternity.
Amen. Amen.

EXTRACTS

FROM

BISHOP JEWELL'S DEFENCE

OF

THE APOLOGY,

IN

ANSWER TO HARDING THE JESUIT.

Bishop Jewell conducted the controversy with Harding with the utmost fairness on his part (see his life). His Defence is arranged in the following manner—First an extract is given from the Apology itself; then Harding's objections to that portion are printed in a different type; then follows Jewell's reply to Harding's objections, also in a different type, with distinct references to all the passages he cites, which he quotes from the originals, adding translations of the same.

This masterly work extends to 750 folio pages, and furnishes information upon almost every subject connected with the church of Rome. A few extracts are here given, although the controversial nature of the work deprives many passages of much of their interest when printed separately.

THE FATHERS AND THE SCRIPTURES.

FAIN would Mr. Harding have his reader believe that we utterly despise all holy fathers. But we despise them not, Mr. Harding, as may partly appear by that we have already said. We read their works, we reverence them, we give God thanks for them, we call them the pillars, the lights, the fathers of God's church; we despise them not. This thing only we say, Were their learning and holiness ever so great, yet are they not equal in credit with the Scriptures of God.

Thus also saith Augustine, "We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures." And again, joining all the doctors and fathers together, he saith thus, "Instead of all these learned fathers, or rather above them all, Paul the apostle comes to my mind; to him I run, to him I appeal from all manner of writers, doctors and fathers, that think otherwise."

So likewise Jerome, "I think that the ancient father Origen, in respect of his learning, may be read sometimes, as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and sundry other ecclesiastical writers, as well Greek as Latin, that in them we may take the good, and flee the contrary." Of this judgment were Augustine, Jerome, and sundry others, whose words for shortness I pass over, yet were they not therefore condemned as despisers of the holy learned fathers.

We remove you not, as you say, from your hold, Mr. Harding. This is nothing else but a courage of your countenance. The fathers you speak of are against you. I trust it appears already by your former writings, that in the special cases that lie between us, you have but few fathers to hold by.

You say, we evermore call you to the Scriptures. This fault, I hope, is not so heinous. Christ hath commanded us so to do. Search ye, saith Christ, the Scriptures, John v. And Hilary saith unto the emperor Constantius, "Doth your majesty seek the faith? Hear it then, not out of any new scrolls, but out of the books of God." He is rather to be suspected that flies the light, and will not be judged by the Scriptures.

When the Scriptures are dark and doubtful, and are alleged of both parts, then ye say ye refuse not the umpireship and judgment of the Holy Ghost. But ye add farther, the Holy Ghost is promised only to the church. Now, by your opinion there is no church but the church of Rome; and the church of Rome is no church without the pope. For one of your great doctors saith, "The pope's only power passeth all the power of the whole church besides." And another like doctor saith, "The pope by power and virtue is the whole church." And thus your reason goes round about, from the first to the last;—therefore, there is neither Holy Ghost, nor interpretation or sense of the Scriptures, but only in the pope. This is the sum of the whole, which being granted, what should a man seek any further? The whole matter is at an end.

It is true, as the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they be expounded by the same. For without that Spirit, we have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to see; it is that Spirit who openeth, and no man shutteth; the same shutteth, and no man openeth. The same Spirit prepared and opened the silk woman's heart, that she should give ear to, and consider the things that were spoken by St. Paul, Acts xvi. And in respect of this Spirit the prophet Isaiah saith, They shall be all taught of God.

But God hath not bound himself that this Spirit should evermore dwell in Rome, but upon the lowly and humble-hearted, that tremble at the word of God, Isa. lxvi. Chrysostom saith, "They that speak of themselves, falsely pretend the Holy Ghost." And again, "If any thing be brought unto us under the name of the Holy Ghost, besides the gospel, let us not believe it. For as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the gospel."*

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS.

St. Ambrose, you say, by his appeal to the Scriptures, excludes not the judgment of the learned fathers, but only the cavillations and subtleties of philosophers and sophisters. For St. Ambrose himself in the same treaty often alleges the authority of the fathers. All this, Mr. Harding, is true indeed, notwithstanding there is a certain secret untruth lapped in it. For Ambrose alleges the fathers, not as grounds, or principles, or foundations of the faith, but only as interpreters, or witnesses, or consenters unto the faith; which thing of our part was never denied.

Now whether Ambrose meant thus or no, let Ambrose himself be the judge. His words are these, "Thus have our fathers said, not of themselves, but according to the Scriptures." He alleges the fathers, not as having sufficient credit and substance in themselves, but only as expounders and interpreters of the Scriptures.

* In another place Jewell says, "Whereas we make reasonable request, that God may be umpire in his own cause, and that all our controversies may be judged and tried by the Holy Scriptures, Mr. Harding answers thus: 'The Scripture standeth not in the words, but in the sense, and the same sense is continued by tradition in the church.'—To conclude, he makes up a great empty heap of the force of baptism, of holy oil, of extreme unction, of absolution, of signs, of figures, of faith only, and as it pleases him to call it, of the presumptuous doctrine of the certainty of salvation; in each of which things, he saith, the Scriptures are clearly of his side, and directly against us.

"To answer all these points in particular, would require another book. But briefly to touch so much only as shall be needful, First, that the substance of the Scriptures stands in the right sense and meaning, and not only in the naked and bare words, it is true and generally granted without exception, and needs no further proof.—But if that only be the right meaning and sense of the Scriptures, which within these few late hundred years is crept into the church of Rome; and if it be all gospel, whatsoever it be that arriveth from hence; and if they are all heretics and schismatics, and despisers of Christ, and of the apostles, and of the universal church, who make stay at it, or cannot receive it, then is the whole matter concluded, we shall need no more ado."

So saith the godly father Athanasius, "These things have we learned of our masters, or fathers, inspired from heaven, which have read and perused the Holy Scriptures." For Augustine very well saith, "According to these books of the Scriptures, we judge frankly of all other writings, whether they are of the faithful, or of the unfaithful."

Therefore Jerome saith, "We must read the Scriptures with all diligence, and must be occupied in the law of our Lord both day and night, that we may become perfect exchangers, and be able rightly to discern what money is lawful, and what is counterfeit."

Hilary saith, "This is the very order of the apostle's doctrine in the gospel, to preach God out of the law and the prophets."

Otherwise touching the discourse of natural reason, Ambrose saith, "No creature, either in earth or in heaven, is able to reach the depth of these things." Thus he saith, "The mind is astonished, the voice faileth, not only mine, but also of the angels: it is above the powers, above the angels, above the cherubims, above the seraphims, and above all manner of understanding." And therefore he saith, as it is alleged once before, "I would not ye should believe me; let the Scriptures be read; I say not of myself, 'In the beginning was the word,' but I hear it spoken."

And again he saith in the same book unto the emperor Gratian, "Let our judgment stand apart, and let us ask St. Paul the question." But Mr. Harding saith, "Whosoever maketh this argument which in your word is implied—the Scriptures are to be asked, therefore, the holy fathers are not to be asked—makes a foolish argument."

It seems no great point of wisdom, Mr. Harding, to upbraid others with folly without cause. God increase both you and us in all wisdom and understanding in Christ Jesus. Howbeit, our argument, howsoever it hath pleased you to fashion and to handle it, as we meant it and made it, had no such folly, wherefore whatsoever folly is now come to it, it is your own, it is not ours. For we deny not the learned fathers' expositions and judgments in doubtful cases of the Scriptures. We read them ourselves, we follow them, we embrace them, and, as I said before, we most humbly thank God for them. But thus we say, The same fathers' opinions and judgments, forasmuch as they are sometimes disagreeable one from another, and sometimes imply contrarieties and contradictions, therefore alone and of them-

selves, without farther authority and guiding of God's word, are not always sufficient warrants to charge our faith. And thus the learned catholic fathers themselves have evermore taught us to esteem and to weigh the fathers.*

The ancient father Origen saith thus, as it is reported before, "The discussing of our judgment must be taken *only* of the Scriptures." And again, "Our judgments and expositions without witness of the Scriptures have no credit." Likewise Augustine, "My consent, without exception, I owe, not unto any father, were he ever so well learned, but, only to the holy canonical Scriptures." His reason is this, "For whereas the Lord himself hath not spoken, who of us can say, It is this, or that? Or if he dare say so, how can he prove it?"

And therefore he concludes directly and in like words with Ambrose, "I require the voice of the shepherd. Read me this matter out of the prophets; read it me out of the psalms; read it me out of the law; read it me out of the gospel; read it out of the apostles."

SALVATION BY FAITH ALONE.

Here you trifle, Mr. Harding, although not much beyond your common wont, yet somewhat above your ordinary. Our doctrine herein is grounded upon these words of Christ: When ye have done all, say that ye be unprofitable servants, and therefore have deserved nothing, Luke xvii. Indeed of late years this hath been the general doctrine of your schools, "Everlasting life is a reward due for our deservings. If everlasting life were not a due reward, it were uncertain; for due debt is certain; mercy or favour is uncertain." Thus have you utterly drowned the grace of God, and the salvation that we have only in Jesus Christ, and have turned

* In his reply to Harding's answer, Jewell says, "There is no way so easy to beguile the simple as the name and countenance of ancient fathers.—If the devil can show himself as the angel of light; and if false prophets can come in the name of Christ; much more may some others come in the name, and under the colour of certain fathers." The manner in which these authorities of the ancient fathers have usually been brought forward by Harding and other Romanists in their controversial writings, is thus exposed by Jewell; "Some that never were, are surmised and counterfeited. Some untruly alleged. Some corruptly translated. Some perversely expounded. Some unaptly and guilefully applied. Their words sometimes abridged, sometimes enlarged, sometimes altered, sometimes dissembled. Fabulous and unknown authorities newly founded. Childish arguments fondly concluded. To be short, infinite untruths, and known untruths, boldly avouched."

the most comfortable doctrine of the gospel into a dungeon of desperation.

"Then," say you, "let the labourer's proverb take place. I had rather play for nothing, than work for nothing." Verily, Mr. Harding, when other reason could not serve you, it was reason your labourer's idle reason should take place. Howbeit, if you will do nothing at God's request, of good will, without reward, but must be hired only for your penny, then may your labourer, be he ever so simple, easily tell you you are not the child of God, but only a hireling and a labourer. For the natural loving child will obey his father, not for a reward, but of love, only because he is his father.

Gregory Nazianzen saith, "If thou be a bond-slave, then fear the whip; if thou be a hireling, then look only for thy reward. But over and besides these, if thou be a (dutiful) child, then reverence God as thy Father. Do well, because it is good to obey thy Father; yea, and although thou shalt have nothing else, yet even this shall be thy reward, that thou hast been obedient to thy Father."

Hilary saith, "If we fast once, we think we have satisfied; if out of the barns of our household store we give somewhat to the poor, we believe we have fulfilled the measure of righteousness. But the prophet hopeth all of God, and trusteth all of his mercy."

Christ saith to his disciples, Let your light so shine before men, not that ye may be rewarded, but, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven, Matt. v. Augustine saith, "O God, he the less loveth thee, that loveth any other thing besides thee." Likewise Basil saith, "He that trusteth not to his own good deeds, nor hopeth to be justified by his works, hath the only hope of his salvation, the mercies of God."

Further you say, "A true faith may be idle, and utterly without works;" and therefore ye think that is not true which we say, "A true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle." Here, perhaps, you will set faith upon the last, and rack her to a large size; for so Latomus, one of your fellows, saith, that Socrates and Plato, and other heathen philosophers, had as good understanding and faith in Christ, as had Abraham. And Andradius, another of your fellows, saith, that "the heathen and infidel philosophers had the righteousness of faith and everlasting life." His words are these, "The philosophers that abhorred and shunned the vain multitude of gods, &c. Wilt thou say, they lacked that

faith, and that knowledge of God, whereby the wicked is justified, and whereby the righteous liveth?"

Another of your near fellows saith, "Peter denied not the faith of Christ, but he denied Christ, his faith nevertheless being safe." If you call this true faith, Mr. Harding, that may be found in heathens and infidels, and may well and safely stand with the abjuring of Christ, then without question your true faith may be without good works.

But St. Paul, whose words we ought rather to credit, saith far otherwise; He that hath no regard to his own, especially such as are of his household, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel, 1 Tim. v. Again he saith, They say they know God, but by their works they deny God, Titus 1. St. John saith, Whoso saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, 1 John ii. St. James saith, (chap. ii.) Faith without works is dead: and, the devil believeth and trembleth for fear. But a dead faith is no more a true perfect faith, than a dead man is a true perfect man. As for the faith of devils, indeed and verily, it is no faith.

Certainly Augustine saith, "He that hath faith without hope and charity, believeth that there is Christ; but he believeth not in Christ." Again he saith, "Good life can never be divided from faith, which worketh by love; nay, rather that same very faith itself is good life."

Ambrose saith, "As soon as a man begins to live wantonly, he begins to flee from the true faith." Origen saith, "Whosoever believeth in God, blusheth not; but every man blusheth that worketh sin. Therefore he that yet blusheth for sin, seemeth not to believe." And again he saith, "Whosoever sinneth believeth ill."

To be short: Cyprian saith, "How doth he say he believeth in Christ, that doth not the thing which Christ commanded?"

If you will believe none of all these, being ancient and learned fathers, yet believe your own doctor, Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome. Thus he saith, "The mind cannot know God, and not love him. There can be no true knowledge of God, where there wanteth charity."

Hereby it is plain that true faith is lively and workful, and that an idle faith is indeed no faith at all.

I am weary of your follies, Mr. Harding; and were it not

for some satisfaction of the simple, I would not vouchsafe them any answer. Whereas I only allege these words of St. James, "Faith without works is dead;" you tell me, that "I belie the Scriptures. And this," you say, "shall be mine answer." Of such hasty answers you have good store. I thank God I believe the Scriptures. I belie them not. I would not willingly belie a child, much less the everlasting word of God, for I know it is holy.

But how, and wherein, have I so foully belied the Scriptures? You answer me, "A thing may be dead in two sorts, either because it had life in it of its own, or else because it had it of another thing. Faith hath life of itself, and faith hath life of charity." All this may be granted. But what conclude you hereof, Mr. Harding? If faith have life of itself, have I therefore "belied the Scriptures?" Behold St. James's words. Thus he saith; "Faith without works is dead." Of the other side behold my words. Thus I say, "Faith without works is dead." Now compare these words together. I increase nothing; I diminish nothing; I alter nothing; I report St. James's words plainly and simply as he spake them. With what good countenance then can you so uncivilly tell me that I have "belied the Scriptures?" Your reader, be he ever so friendly bent unto you, must needs doubt somewhat of your dealing. If you proceed accordingly, you will be able shortly to tell us that St. James himself hath belied the Scriptures. For the words that I speak, and you condemn, are St. James's.

"Faith," you say, "hath life of another thing, like as the body hath of the soul. Not as the man is dead without the soul, but as the body is dead without the soul, so is faith dead without good works." Thus you say. But help us, I pray you, that we may better understand your meaning. You speak in parables. We need a commentary. "A man," say you, "dead without a soul?" What means this talk, Mr. Harding? You lay the way for us, I trow, and would entrap us in the dark. Who ever heard of a man without a soul? I have sometimes heard of a man without wit, and of words without sense or reason; but of "a man without a soul," hitherto I never heard.

Now let us view the handsomeness of your distinction. These are your words, "Not as a man is dead without a soul, but as a body is dead without a soul." A man that had any soul would think there should be some difference between these speeches. "Not as the one," you say, "but

as the other." But what if the one and the other are both one? Consider better of your words, I beseech you. What is "a man without a soul," but only a bare and dead body? Or what is such a dead body, but only "a man without a soul?" Where was your soul, Mr. Harding, when you devised these distinctions without a difference?

Yet you tell us, "A body being without a soul is still a true natural body." Therefore, say you, "Faith being without good works, is still a true real faith?" First, Mr. Harding, you know it is commonly said in all schools, Every comparison halteth. You might soon have found the feebleness of this reason; it will serve you only to mock children. Howbeit, let us use your own grants. You shall see them conclude against yourself; for a body without a soul, notwithstanding it be a true natural body, yet hath it neither sense nor life, but is indeed and verily a dead body. Even so your faith without good works, notwithstanding any truth or reality you can give unto it, hath in it neither life nor sense, but indeed and verily is a dead faith, and therefore no faith at all.

But who taught you to shape out these pretty similitudes, and so unskilfully to liken faith unto the body, and good works unto the soul? The wise and learned have rather likened true faith to the soul, and good works to the body. For as the body hath no life of itself, but only of the soul, even so works have no life of themselves, but only of faith.

Yet you say, "Faith without works is nevertheless a true and real faith." Verily, Mr. Harding, then so is fire without heat a true and real fire. Of such a faith St. James saith, Devils believe, and quake for fear. If the wicked, without good works, have a true and a real faith, then may you also say, "That the devil likewise hath a true and a real faith." This faith is no faith, Mr. Harding. It is only an imaginary and a mathematical fantasy; it is not that faith whereby we are made the children of God.

Hereof St. Paul saith thus, They have a show and face of godliness, but the virtue and power thereof they forsake utterly, 2 Tim. iii. Of such a faith the angel saith in the Apocalypse, Thou hast a name of life, and yet thou art dead, Rev. iii. Such is faith without works, a face without godliness, a show without substance, a name without life.

"Mr. Jewell," you say, "is tried a liar." And why so?

Because he saith, as St. James saith, Faith without works is dead; and therefore, as Augustine saith, no faith at all. But Mr. Harding, contrary to St. James's express and plain words, tells us, that "Faith without works is a true and a real faith," and is lively and forcible in itself. And yet is he tried a trusty man!

But you say, "Good works have their reward, and therefore this heresy may not escape." Whether good works shall be rewarded, or no, it was no part of our question. For we undoubtedly believe the words that are written by St. John. Their works follow after them. We believe the words that Christ saith to his disciples, He that giveth a cup of cold water to any of these little ones for my sake, shall not lose his reward, Matt. x. We believe that St. Paul saith, Your work shall not be in vain in the Lord, 1 Cor. xv. We grant, "good works have their reward," but the same "reward" standeth in mercy and favour, and not in duty.

Thus therefore we say, considering the weakness and sinful corruption of our nature, there can be no works in us so pure and perfect, that we may thereby, of right and of duty, deserve everlasting life. And this, Mr. Harding, is no heresy, but the very plain sense and substance of God's word, and the undoubted doctrine of the ancient catholic fathers of the church.

Job saith, If a man will dispute with God, he is not able to answer him for one of a thousand. And therefore he saith, I stood in doubt, and was afraid of all my works. Again, he saith, Although I were perfect, yet my soul shall not know it. If I would justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me, Job ix. The prophet Isaiah saith, chap. lxiv. All our righteousness is like a foul stained rag.

Therefore Augustine saith, "O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant. What means that, Enter not into judgment with thy servant? Thus much it means; Stand not with me in judgment, requiring of me all that thou hast commanded. For if thou enter into judgment with me, thou shalt find me guilty. I have need, therefore, not of thy upright judgment, but of thy mercy." Again he saith, "What are the merits of any man? For Christ, that came not with his due reward, but with his grace, that was not due, found all men sinners, being himself alone free from sin, and a deliverer of sinners." Again he saith.

"God crowneth with favour and mercy, that shall be done in the last judgment; whereas when the just King shall sit in his throne, to render to every man according to his works, who shall boast that his heart is chaste? or who shall boast that he is clean from sin? Therefore it was needful to make mention of the pity and mercy of our Lord." And again, "Lord, I commend not the works of my hands. For I am afraid, lest, when thou shalt behold them, thou shalt find more sins than good deservings."

So saith Jerome, "If we behold our own merits, we must be driven to desperation."

So saith Origen, "I do scarcely believe that there can be any work that may of duty require reward." Again he saith, "Say ye, saith Christ, that ye are unprofitable servants. For notwithstanding we have done all things that are commanded, yet have we done no good thing. For if our doings were good indeed, then were we not unprofitable. But any good deed of ours is called good, not rightly or duly, but by abuse of speech." So saith Augustine, "If God would deal with us according to that we have deserved, he should find nothing but that he might condemn."

Therefore, Mr. Harding, Waldensis, one of your great doctors, having well and circumspectly weighed the matter of every side, at the last concludes thus: "What worthy thing do we, that we may be found in the fellowship of the heavenly spirits? The apostle saith, I judge that the afflictions of this time are not worthy of that glory that shall be revealed in us. Therefore I take him to be the sounder divine, the faithfuller catholic, and more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, that utterly denies all such kind of merit."

But you will say, "If we find ourselves void of merit, how then shall we stand, and be justified before God?" St. John saith, Blessed are they that have washed their robes, not in their own merits, but, in the blood of the Lamb, Rev. vii. And God saith, I will give the thirsty to drink of the well of life, not for his deserts, but, for nothing, Rev. xxi.

The ancient father Origen saith, "Forasmuch as all men are shut up and closed under sin, now the salvation of man standeth not in man's merits, but in God's mercy."

Augustine saith, "God in the end will crown us, not with the price of our deservings, but with favour and mercies."

Again he saith, "For nothing thou shalt save them. What is meant by these words, For nothing thou shalt save them? This is the meaning: Thou findest nothing in them wherefore thou shouldest save them; and yet thou savest them. Thou findest nothing wherefore thou shouldest save them; but thou findest much wherefore thou shouldest condemn them."

And again, "Deserved pain would throw all men into death, unless the undeserved grace of God deliver some from it."

Basil saith, "Judgment shall not be without mercy; for no man can be found pure and clean from all filth; no, though he be but one day old." Again he saith, "This is our full and perfect rejoicing in God, when we acknowledge that we are void of any our own righteousness, and are justified only by faith in Christ."

So saith Jerome, "In Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have boldness and liberty to come (to God), and trust and affiance by the faith of him, not through our righteousness, but through him, in whose name our sins be forgiven."

Hereof Bernard in most godly and comfortable wise concludes thus, "My merit is the mercy of God. So long as God is not poor of mercy, so long cannot I be poor of merit. If his mercies be great, then am I great in merits. This is the whole merit of man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lord."

This is these defenders' horrible heresy, Mr. Harding, "which," you say, "must not so escape your hands."

OF FAITH AND ASSURANCE, OR CERTAINTY OF SALVATION.

Two other great quarrels Mr. Harding moves. The one of faith alone; the other, as he calls it, of the presumptuous certainty of salvation; wherein judge thou uprightly, good Christian reader, how just cause he has to reprove our doctrine.

As for the first hereof, St. Paul saith, We be justified freely by his grace; we judge that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law; we know that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of

Christ, Rom. iii. Mr. Harding will say, Yet hitherto of *sola fides*, that is, of faith alone, we hear nothing. Notwithstanding, when St. Paul excludes all manner of works besides only faith, what else then leaves he but faith alone?

Howbeit, if it be so horrible a heresy to say, We are justified before God by faith only, that is to say, only by the merits and cross of Christ, let us see what the holy learned fathers of the church, so many hundred years ago, have taught us thereof.

Ambrose saith, "They are justified freely, because working nothing, and requiting nothing, they are justified by only faith through the gift of God." Again, "This was God's determination, that, the law ceasing, the grace of God should require only faith unto salvation." And again, "Only faith is laid or appointed unto salvation."

Basil saith, "He knoweth himself to be void of true righteousness, and to be justified by only faith in Christ."

Theodoret saith, "Not by any works of ours, but by only faith, we have gotten the mystical good things."

Nazianzen saith, "Only believing is righteousness."

Origen saith, "Where now is thy boasting, of thy good works? It is shut out. Paul saith, that the justification of only faith is sufficient. So that a man, only believing, may be justified, although he have done no good works at all."

Hesychius saith, "The grace of God is given only of mercy and favour, and is embraced and received by only faith."

I leave a great number of others, that have written the like, as well Greeks as Latins. Instead of them all, Chrysostom saith thus, "They said, whoso stayeth himself by only faith is accursed; contrariwise St. Paul proves, that whoso stayeth himself by only faith, he is blessed."

Touching the words of St. James, if Mr. Harding well considered the double understanding of this word justification, he might soon and easily have espied his own error. For when St. Paul saith, Abraham was justified by faith, without works of the law, Rom. iv. he teaches us how Abraham was received into favour, and justified before God.

Of the other side, St. James, when he saith, Abraham was justified by works, and not by faith only; speaks of the works that follow justification, and of the fruits of

faith; without which fruits, Abraham's faith had been no faith.

Augustine saith, "The sayings of the two apostles, Paul and James, are not contrary, where, as Paul saith, a man is justified without works, and James saith, Faith without works is in vain; for Paul speaketh of the works that go before faith; James speaketh of the works that follow after faith."

If Mr. Harding shall think Augustine's authority herein is not sufficient, Thomas Aquinas will avouch the same. His words are these: "James, in this place, speaks of such works as follow faith; which works are said to justify; not as justification is the procuring of righteousness; but in that it is an exercise, or a showing or a perfecting of righteousness. For we say, a thing is done, when it is perfected or known to be done."

Now concerning the assurance or certainty of salvation, the Scriptures are full. St. Paul saith, There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. The Spirit of God beareth witness to our spirit that we are the children of God. I know that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature else, shall be able to remove me from that love that God beareth towards me in Christ Jesus our Lord, Rom. viii.

But as these words perhaps have not the sense of the church of Rome, without which, in Mr. Harding's judgment, the Scripture of God is no Scripture; let us see the sense and exposition of the holy fathers.

Tertullian saith, "That we might be certified that we be the children of God, he hath sent the Holy Ghost into our hearts, crying Abba, Father."

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, "Indeed hope is, as it were, the blood of faith; in which faith, hope is contained, even as faith is contained in the soul. And when hope is gone, then is all the lively power of faith dissolved, as if the blood were shed out of the body."

Cyprian saith, "Dost thou stagger, and stand in doubt of thy salvation? That were as much as not to know God; that were as much as, with the sin of unbelief, to offend Christ, the master of believers; that were as much as, being in the church, in the house of faith, to have no faith."

Prosper saith, "They unto whom the world is crucified,

and are crucified unto the world, wait for the day of judgment without fear."

But to leave the ancient fathers of old time, and to put the matter quite out of doubt, one Antonius Marinarius, in the late council of Trent, in open audience, said thus, "If the heaven should fall, if the earth should vanish, if the whole world should come down headlong, yet would I stand bold before God. If an angel from heaven would tell me otherwise, I would accurse him. Oh the blessed trust (and certainty) of a Christian heart!"

Certainly, Mr. Harding, it were a very presumptuous part to say, that these fathers, Greek, Latin, new, old, your own and ours, were all presumptuous. If it be so presumptuous a matter to put affiance in the merits of Christ, what is it then to put affiance in our own merits? St. Paul hath taught us to say, God forbid that I should glory, but only in the cross of Christ, Gal. vi. Basil saith, "Whoso trusteth not in his own merits, nor looketh to be justified by his own works, hath his only hope of salvation in the mercies of our Lord."

So saith Job in all his miseries; Although he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Notwithstanding, I will reprove my ways before his sight. So the prophet David: In thee, O Lord, have I trusted; I will never be confounded, Psal. lxxi. This is no presumption, but a patient and an humble waiting for the redemption of the children of God.

It is most true that St. Paul saith, Phil. ii. We must work our own salvation with fear and trembling. But this fear rises in consideration of our own weakness and unworthiness; not of any distrust or doubt in God's mercy; but rather the less cause we find to trust in ourselves, the more cause we have to trust in God.

Therefore Augustine saith, "Presume thou not of thine own working, but of the grace of Christ. For the apostle saith, Ye are saved by grace. Here, therefore, is not presumption, but faith. To proclaim that which thou hast received, is not pride, it is devotion."

Again he saith, "It is not of my presumption, but of his promise, that I shall not come into judgment." Basil saith, "Paul (presumeth and) boasteth of the contempt of his own righteousness."

So saith Ambrose, "I will not glory for that I am a just man, but for that I am redeemed, therefore will I glory.

Not for that I am void of sin, but for that my sins are forgiven me. I will not glory for that I have done good to any man, nor for that any man hath done good to me; but for that Christ is my Advocate with the Father, and for that Christ's blood was shed for me."

Therefore Augustine saith, "What shall I render unto our Lord, for that I call to remembrance all these my sins, and yet my soul thereof is not afraid?"

To be short: thus saith Bernard, "What safe rest or surety can the weak soul find but in the wounds of our Saviour? As he is mightier to save, so dwell I there with more safety, &c. I have committed a great sin; my conscience is troubled, yet shall it not be shaken down, because I will remember my Lord's wounds; for he was wounded for our sins."

Thus, Mr. Harding, to be assured of our salvation, Augustine saith, "It is no arrogant stoutness; it is our faith. It is no pride; it is devotion. It is no presumption; it is God's promise.

But your whole doctrine of the trust in man's merits leadeth directly to desperation; and therefore Cyprian saith well of you, "They teach us night instead of day; destruction instead of health; desperation under the colour of hope; infidelity under the pretence of faith; antichrist under the name of Christ."

ON FREE WILL.

The Manichees, among their other fantastical errors, were wont to say, that the body of man was made, not by God, but by the angels of the devil, whom they called, "the people of darkness." And that in man there are two souls of contrary natures; the one of the substance of God, the other of the substance of the devil; and that either soul continues still as it is, and cannot alter; that is to say, that the good soul can never be evil, and that the evil soul can never be good. And in this sense they said, that man hath no free will.

All these, and other like errors, we abhor and detest as frantic fury. We say that the soul of man is not the substance, but the creature of God, and that it may be changed from good to evil, from evil to good. That David may fall, that Paul may rise, that God giveth us a new heart and a new spirit within our breasts.

But as touching the freedom of will and power of our-

selves, we say with Augustine, "Oh! evil is free will without God." Again, "Man, misusing his free will, lost both himself and his will." Again, "What do men so much presume of the possibility of nature? It is wounded, it is mangled, it is troubled, it is lost; it behoveth us rather truly to confess it, than falsely to defend it."

Again: "Free will once made thrall, availeth now nothing but to sin." Again, "That we live well, that we understand aright, we have it of God. Of ourselves we have nothing, but only sin that is within us."

The better to clear this whole case, I thought it good to use the more words. Thus may we learn to know ourselves, and humbly to confess our imperfection, and to give the whole glory unto God.

Therefore to conclude, Augustine saith, "We will, but it is God that worketh in us to will. We work, but it is God that worketh in us to work, according to his good pleasure. This is proper for us, both to believe, and to speak. This is a godly, this is a true doctrine, that our confession may be humble and lowly, and that God may have the whole. We live more in safety, if we give all unto God, rather than if we commit ourselves partly to ourselves, and partly to him."

THE PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN.

It is certain that the church of Brittany, now called England, received not first the faith from Rome. Lucius, the king of this country, had received the gospel of Christ, and was baptized well near 150 years before the emperor Constantine; and the same Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was born in this island. And notwithstanding Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, at the king's special request, sent hither Fugatius and Damianus, to inform the bishops and clergy, and to bring things to better order, yet undoubtedly the church and faith of Christ had been planted here a long while before they came; either by Joseph of Arimathea, or, as Theodoretus writeth, by St. Paul the apostle, passing this way into Spain; or, as Nicephorus saith, by Simon Zelotes, or by the Greeks, or by some others.—I allege mine authors and show the places.

As for our Augustine of England,* for it was not St. Augustine the learned doctor, neither was he so godly a

* Of whom Harding had spoken in his answer to Jewell.

man as Mr. Harding maketh him; for as it may appear by what Galfredus writes of him, he was cruel, disdainful, proud, and arrogant, and no way meet to be called an apostle. How blessed he was, and how like unto one of Christ's apostles may appear. Indeed all these words are not expressly uttered, neither by Galfredus, nor by Bede; howbeit the whole effect thereof may soon be found.

Neither was he the first planter of the faith in England. For the faith was planted here many hundred years before his coming. Tertullian saith of his time, (about A. D. 210,) "The countries of Britain, which the Romans never could attain unto, are now subject to Christ." Origen (about A. D. 212,) saith of his time, "The land of Britain hath agreed to Christ's religion." Athanasius saith, (A. D. 334,) "The bishops of Britain, &c. came to the council of Sardica." Constantine the emperor, in his time, (A. D. 330,) makes mention of the churches in Britain. St. Hilary in his time, (A. D. 360,) entitled his letter To the clergy of Toulouse, and to the bishops of Brittany. Chrysostom of his time (A. D. 400,) saith, "The islands of Brittany being in the very ocean, far out of this our sea,* have felt the power of God's word." Theodoret, of the time of the emperor Jovinian, (A. D. 367,) saith, "To this faith have agreed all the churches, both of Spain and of Brittany." All these may seem sufficient, if it please Mr. Harding to receive them. And all, and every of these lived sundry hundred years before the arrival of Melitus and Augustine. (A. D. 596.)

If any man shall reply, The faith was then utterly rooted out by the invasion of the English men, (the Angles,) being heathens, that matter is already answered in my former reply to Mr. Harding. Certainly Bede saith, the queen of England was then christened, and that there were then in this realm seven bishops and one archbishop, with other learned Christian men.

As touching this Augustine, we are not bound to all his doings. Although Mr. Harding allow him apostolic authority, yet all his commands were not gospel. The church in his time was grown to much corruption, as may many ways appear by sundry places of St. Gregory. Bede saith, "The bishops and learned Christians of this country utterly refused to receive this new apostle with his religion. And yet were they right catholic and godly men."

* The Mediterranean.

In Jewell's reply to Harding's answer, he says "It may seem very likely that the religion of Christ came first into this island, not from Rome, but from the Greeks; both for that in the keeping of Easter day we followed the Greek church, and not the church of Rome; and also for that when Augustine was sent hither by Gregory, we would in no wise acknowledge or receive the bishop of Rome."

ON THE PROTESTANT MARTYRS.

We make no boast of the numbers and multitude of our martyrs; and yet, as St. Paul saith, If we should needs boast, we should chiefly boast of such our infirmities, 2 Cor. xi. But we rejoice with them, and give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to prepare their hearts unto temptation, to try and purify them as gold in the furnace, and to keep them faithful unto the end.

It pleases you, for lack of other evasion, to call the story of martyrs, "a dunghill of lies."* But these lies shall remain in record for ever, to testify, and to condemn your bloody doings. Ye have imprisoned your brethren; ye have stripped them naked; ye have scourged them with rods; ye have burned their hands and arms with flaming torches; ye have famished them; ye have drowned them; ye have burned them; ye have summoned them, being dead, to appear before you out of their graves; ye have ripped up their buried carcasses; ye have thrown them out into the dunghill; ye took a poor babe falling from his mother's womb, and, in most cruel and barbarous manner threw him into the fire.

All these things, Mr. Harding, ARE TRUE; they are no lies; the eyes and consciences of many thousands can witness your doings. The blood of innocent Abel crieth to God from the earth, and undoubtedly God will require it at your hands. Chrysostom saith, as is alleged before, "Whosoever hath pleasure in the blood of persecution, the same is a wolf." Ye slew your brethren so cruelly, not for murder or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, but only for that they trusted in the living God. Howbeit, we may say with the old father, Tertullian, "Your cruelty is our glory."

Whereas we avouch the power and authority of God's

* Harding's words are, "That huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs, which ye have entitled Acts and Monuments," alluding to Fox's work.

holy word; for that the more it is trodden down, the more it grows, and for that the kings and princes of this world, with all their puissance and policy, were never able to root it out, your answer is, "that this reason may serve thieves as well as us." To dissemble your odious comparisons, how lightly soever it shall please you to weigh this reason, yet your forefathers, the pharisees, in old time, seemed to make some account of it. For thus they murmured and misliked among themselves, Ye see we can do no good; lo, the whole world, for all that we can do, is gone after him, John xii.

Tertullian likewise saith, "The greatest cruelty that ye can devise is an enticement to our sect. How many of us soever ye murder, when ye come to the view, ye find us more and more. The seed of this increase is Christian blood."

So Augustine: "They were fettered; they were imprisoned; they were beaten; they were racked; they were burnt; and yet they multiplied." Cyprian saith, "The priest of God, holding the Testament in his hand, he may be killed, but overcome he cannot be." So likewise Nazianzen; "By death it liveth; by wounding it springeth; by diminishing it increaseth."

Thus these holy fathers, when they saw that the gospel of Christ increased, and grew by persecution, contrary to all judgment of reason and worldly policy, they were enforced, contrary to Mr. Harding's judgment, therein to acknowledge the mighty hand and power of God, and an undoubted testimony of the truth. Justin, a godly learned father and martyr, saith thus of himself: "When I (being a heathen, and one of Plato's scholars) heard that the Christians were accused and reviled of all men, and yet saw them go to their death, and to all manner of terrible and cruel torments, quietly and without fear, I thought with myself, it was not possible that such men should live in any wickedness."

The like writeth Sozomen of the Christians in the primitive church; "The Christians, neither relenting by fair means, nor shrinking for threats, made it well appear to every man that it was for some great reward they suffered such trouble."

These learned fathers therefore saw, what Mr. Harding could not see, the increasing of the gospel through death and persecution, maugre* the might of worldly princes, is

* In spite of.

an evident token of the truth. The prophet David saith, The princes came and consulted together against God, and against his Christ. But He that dwelleth in heaven will laugh them to scorn, Psal. ii. 2. 4. There is no wisdom, there is no policy, there is no counsel against the Lord, Prov. xxi. 30.

Further you say, "Our gospel is gross, and the people dull and sensual, and given to their belly and beastly pleasure, and therefore the apter and readier to receive the same." Oh, Mr. Harding! what a desperate cause is this, that cannot stand without such manifest blasphemy of the gospel of Christ, and despiteful reproach of God's people! Certainly St. Paul saith, The gospel is the power of God unto salvation, Rom. i. 16. And the prophet David saith, The people is Christ's inheritance, Psal. ii. 8.

What hath the people so much offended you, that you should either in this place so scornfully and so reproachfully report of them, or in your former book so disdainfully call them swine and dogs? Yet is it not so long since you yourself were an earnest professor of the same gospel, were it ever so gross. Where was then your fineness and sharpness of wit? Where was your belly? Where was the rest? You should not so soon have forgotten your own self.

Surely, Mr. Harding, neither will the sensual man, drowned in filthy and beastly pleasures, take up his cross and follow Christ, and yield his neck to your sword, or his body to your fire; neither is it a gross and sensual gospel that will lead him to the same.

You say, "It standeth not with God's promise to forsake his church a thousand years." It is much for you, Mr. Harding, openly to break God's commandments; to defile his holy sanctuary; to turn light into darkness, and darkness into light, and yet, nevertheless, to bind him to his promise. All men be liars, but God only is true, and prevaileth, when he is judged. God knoweth his own. Christ will be evermore with his church; yea, although the whole church of Rome conspire against him.

Mr. Harding farther saith, "We succeed the Donatists, and renew their wretched objection against the church," &c. Howbeit we are no Donatists, as his own conscience well knoweth. The Donatists enclosed the church of God within the bounds of one country, and said there was no church but only their own, which was in Africa. In like sort, and with like truth, Mr. Harding

so often and so constantly telleth us this day, "There is no church nor salvation, but under the obedience of the see of Rome."

It is easy, therefore, to see who are the children of those fathers. We say, as all the holy and learned doctors have said, The church of God hath been ever from the beginning, and shall continue unto the end, and overspread all the parts of the world without limitation of time or place. Notwithstanding, sometimes, by care and diligence, she is kept neat and clean; sometimes, by negligence, she is laid waste, and overgrown with weeds, and therefore she is compared unto a garden. Sometimes her light is clear and beautiful; sometimes she waneth and groweth dark, and therefore she is compared unto the moon, Cantic. iv. 12. vi. 10.

The church, you say, "hangeth not of your well doing." God's name, therefore, be blessed. For if it hang of you, it could not stand. It hangeth only of the assurance of God's promise, and the same promise God extended as well to Jerusalem and Antioch, as he did to the see of Rome. But now Antioch, where Peter had his first apostolic seat, and Jerusalem, where Christ himself first planted his gospel, are both forsaken, and left utterly without faith, and the knowledge of God.

Notwithstanding, God is true in all his words; yet unto the wicked he saith, I have no will nor pleasure in you; I will receive no sacrifice at your hands, Mal. i. 10. And St. Paul saith to the church of Rome, even to the same church wherein you so immoderately glory, and assure yourself it cannot err, Presume not, but stand in awe; for if God have not spared his own people of Israel and Jerusalem, unto whom he made his promise, that his name should dwell there for ever, how much less will he spare thee? Mark well the mercy and sharpness of God: his sharpness against them that are fallen from him, but his mercy towards thee, (O thou church of Rome,) if thou continue still in his mercy. Otherwise even thou shalt likewise be hewn down, Rom. xi. 20—22. Thus, Mr. Harding, St. Paul advises the church of Rome to walk in awe, with fear and reverence, and not to presume of herself that she cannot err.

The argument that you form thereof, taken, as you say, out of the Scriptures, is very simple. For thus it standeth —Christ hath promised to be with his disciples, and with

his faithful, for ever, unto the end of the world. Therefore, the church of Rome can never err in matters of faith.

The prophet Jeremiah advises you better. Say not, saith he, The temple of God, the temple of God! We have his temple, we have his word, we have his promise. Put no confidence in such words; they are words of lying and vanities, saith the prophet, ch. vii. 4. They will deceive you.

So saith the prophet Micah, of the priests that deceived the people: They rest themselves quietly upon the Lord, that is to say, they embolden themselves upon his promises. Behold, say they, is not the Lord in the midst among us? therefore none ill shall happen to us. Even therefore, saith the prophet, shall the castle of Sion be ploughed up as the corn-field, and Jerusalem shall lie as a heap of stones, and the mount of the temple shall stand waste as a forest, Micah iii. 11, 12.

But why do you so much abate your reckoning? Why make you not up your full account of your fifteen hundred three score and six years, as ye were wont to do?* Ye have here liberally, and of yourself, quite stricken off five hundred three score and six years; that is to say, the whole time wherein the apostles of Christ, and holy martyrs, and other learned fathers and doctors, lived; in which whole time it appears, by your own secret confession, the church of God might well stand without your private mass, for then was there none, and also without many other your like fantasies.

Neither ought you, Mr. Harding, so deeply to be grieved, and to call us apostates and heretics, for that we have reformed either our churches to the pattern of that church, or ourselves to the example of those fathers.—Verily, in the judgment of the godly, five hundred of those first years are more worth than the whole thousand years that followed afterwards.

Again—"This," saith Mr. Harding, "is a manifest blasphemy, and little becometh a Christian man." But wherefore I hear small reason. The primitive church, which was under the apostles and martyrs, hath evermore been counted the purest of all others, without exception. And therefore the ancient fathers often appeal to the judgment thereof, as unto the infallible standard and measure of truth.

* Harding, objecting to the Protestant doctrines, urged that it was impossible Christ should have "suffered his church to continue in darkness and lack of truth these thousand years past, and now at the latter days to reveal the truth of his gospel by apostates."

Chrysostom, speaking hereof, although not specially to this purpose, saith, " Then verily the church was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church. But now we scarcely have the steps and tokens of those things." And immediately after he saith farther, " The church now may be likened to a woman that hath lost her modesty, having only certain tokens and shows of her former felicity, as the chests and foreseals of precious things, being utterly void of the treasure."

Thus said Chrysostom touching the decay of the church, and yet he thought his words imported no blasphemy. If the form of the church was so much altered in Chrysostom's days, that is, above eleven hundred years past, what may we then think of the times of darkness, that have followed since? It was no blasphemy, therefore, Mr. Harding, to say, as we say, The first five hundred years of the church are more worth than the whole thousand that followed afterward. This rather is open blasphemy, to compare the church of Rome, that now is, to a perfect man, as you do; and the primitive church, of the apostles and holy martyrs, unto an infant. This surely is blasphemy against God.

Therefore I will answer you with the words of Jerome, " Thou that art a maintainer of new doctrine, whatsoever thou be, I pray thee spare the Roman ears, spare the faith that is commended by the apostle's mouth. Why goest thou about, now after four hundred years, to teach us that faith which before we never knew? why bringest thou us forth that which Peter and Paul never uttered? Evermore until this day the Christian world hath been without this doctrine."

In another part of his Defence of the Apology, Jewell says, " Our wantons and flesh worms, for it pleases you so to call them, have been contented to forsake fathers, mothers, wives, children, goods, and livings, and meekly to submit themselves to the extreme terror of all your cruelties, and to yield their bodies to death; and to be starved for hunger, and to be burned in fire, only for the name and gospel of Jesus Christ. Such delicate ' flesh worms,' and such ' wantons,' are they. You will say, as your wont is when you have nothing else to say, They died stubbornly, in wilful error; yet I reckon you will not say they died in great pleasure or carnal liberty. It is a strange kind of ' fleshly wantonness' for a man to deny himself, and to take

up his cross and to follow Christ. And yet this is the whole substance of the gospel."

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH, HOW CATHOLIC.

I trust, gentle reader, thou wilt not look I should answer all Mr. Harding's ordinary idle talk; so should I lose good time without cause, and be overtroublesome to thine ears. "O," saith he, "what a world it is to see these defenders! They which have not kept the unity of the spirit in the bond of charity, which St. Paul requireth, but have severed themselves from the body of the church, tell us now, forsooth, that they believe there is one church of God." O, Mr. Harding, if we have herein said ill, then bear witness of the ill. If we have said well, wherefore make you these bitter outcries? Whatsoever ye have conceived us to be, yet might ye suffer us quietly to say the truth, specially such truth as you imagine maketh so much for yourself.

You say, we confess that our church began only about forty years since, and was never before. No, Mr. Harding, we confess it not; and you yourself well know we confess it not. It is your tale; it is not ours. We say, and have sufficiently proved, and you know it right well, if ye would be known of that ye know, that our doctrine is the old, and yours is the new. If ye will needs force yourself to the denial, it may easily be proved, and that by such authority as you yourself may not well deny, unless ye will once again do now as ye have twice done before.

We say that our doctrine, and the order of our churches, is older than yours by five hundred whole years and more. If ye will not believe us, yet believe Mr. Harding, he will tell you even the same. Mark well his words: these are they: "It standeth not with Christ's promises made to the church, that he should suffer his church to continue in darkness these thousand years past."

And thus, by secret confession, he leaves us five hundred threescore and six whole years at the least. That is to say, the whole time of Christ, of his apostles, and of all the godly learned doctors and fathers of the primitive church; which time, notwithstanding, is thought a great deal better and purer than all the time that has followed since.

In this division, Mr. Harding, being attent and eager upon his cause, and claiming as much as he thought with

any modesty he might be able, has claimed to himself only a thousand years of the night, and hath left us well near six hundred years of the day!

This is your own witness, Mr. Harding; consider well of it. It is your own! Therefore ye do yourself great wrong, and much deface your own credit, so suddenly to say our doctrine is new. God's name be blessed, it has the testimony not only of Christ and his apostles, but also of the old learned catholic fathers of the church.

And this it is that so much grieves you, that we reform our churches now according to the pattern and samplar of Christ and his apostles' first institution. For thereby the disorder and deformity of your churches the more appear.

Lyrinensis saith, "That thing must be holden for catholic, which every where, evermore, and of all men hath been believed." These general notes must be limited with this special restraint; "whereas the churches were not corrupted." For otherwise there was never any doctrine so catholic; no, not the confessed doctrine of Christ himself, that has been received evermore, and every where, and of all men, without any exception.

For the Turks receive it not, and the Jews abhor it. And so the very gospel of Christ itself, by this rule, should not be catholic. But, Mr. Harding, these self-same notes of Lyrinensis utterly overthrow the greatest part of that whole doctrine which you would so fain have counted catholic. For it neither reaches within five hundred years of the apostles' time, nor has it that antiquity indeed, which in face and countenance is pretended, as it is plain, by your own former confession; nor was it ever universally received, as hereafter by particulars shall be proved. It never had that universality, neither of all times and ages, nor of all places and countries; nor was it ever universally received and allowed of all men. Therefore, whatsoever ye call it, ye cannot, by your own definition, call it catholic.

The catholic church of God standeth not in multitude of persons, but in weight of truth; otherwise Christ himself and his apostles had not been catholic. For his flock was very little, and the catholic, or universal consent of the world, stood against it. The church of God is compared to the moon; for that she waxeth and waneth as the moon doth, and sometimes is full, sometimes is empty; and therefore, as Augustine saith, is called CATHOLIC, "because she is universally perfect, and halteth in nothing, and is not now

shut up in one only country, as was the church of the Jews; but is poured throughout the whole world."

Though the hearts of men often have changes, yet God's truth is evermore one; and, be it in many or in few, is ever catholic. Thus, Mr. Harding, it is written by one of your own side, "Although there were but two faithful men remaining in the world, yet even in those two the church, which is the unity of the faithful, should be saved."

THE SACRIFICES OF THE CHURCH OF GOD.

"But you Protestants," ye say, "have no external sacrifice; and therefore ye have no church at all." It pitieth me, Mr. Harding, to see the vanity of your dealing. Have we no external sacrifice, say you? I beseech you, what sacrifice did Christ or his apostles ever command, that we have refused? Leave your misty clouds, and generalities of words, and speak it plainly, that ye may seem to say some truth.

We have the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of almsdeeds, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the sacrifice of the death of Christ. We are taught to present our own bodies, as a pure, and a holy, and a well-pleasing sacrifice unto God, and to offer up unto him the burning oblation of our lips. These, saith St. Paul, Rom. xii. Heb. xiii. are the sacrifices wherewith God is well pleased. These are the sacrifices of the church of God; whosoever hath these, we cannot say he is void of sacrifice. Howbeit, if we speak of a sacrifice propitiatory for the satisfaction of sins, we have none other but only Christ Jesus, the Son of God, upon his cross. He is that sacrificed Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world, John i.

You will say, "Ye offer not up Christ really unto God his Father." No, Mr. Harding, neither we nor you can so offer him, nor did Christ ever give you commission to make such sacrifice. And this is it, wherewith you so foully beguile the simple. Christ offereth and presenteth us unto his Father. For by him we have access to the throne of grace, Heb. iv. But no creature is able to offer him. Christ Jesus upon his cross was a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec.

As for our part, Augustine saith, "Christ hath given us, to celebrate in his church, an image or token of that sacrifice for the remembrance of his passion. Again, he saith, "After Christ's ascension into heaven, the flesh and blood of this sacrifice is continued by a sacrament of remembrance."

Eusebius saith, "We burn a sacrifice unto God, the remembrance of that great sacrifice upon the cross," &c. Christ "commanded us to offer up a remembrance (of his death) instead of a sacrifice." It were an infinite labour to report all that may be said.

To be short; Jerome saith, turning himself unto Christ, "Then shalt thou, O Christ, receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest up thyself for us unto thy Father, (which was only upon the cross,) or else when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgivings."

All these things are true, Mr. Harding; you cannot deny them. You may therefore lay up the thousand faults, and so many thousand lies, with the shame and blushing that ye spake of. Slander no more either Montanus or Tertullian; though in some points they were deceived as heretics, yet herein they were catholic, and agreed with others, the godly learned fathers of the church. God's name be blessed for ever, we want neither church nor priesthood, nor any kind of sacrifice that Christ hath left unto his faithful.

In the conclusion of his Defence of the Apology, Jewell addresses Harding in a close and searching manner, exposing the weakness of his arguments, and the shifts to which he had resorted. He ends thus, "Deceive not the simple, they are bought with price. They are the people of God, for whom Christ hath shed his blood. Your shifts are miserable. You trouble yourself as a bird in the lime. The more you stir, the faster you cleave. The longer you strive the weaker you are. You cannot bridle the flowing seas; you cannot blind the sun beams. Kick not still against the spur. Give place unto the glory of God. Will ye, nill ye, THE TRUTH WILL CONQUER. God give us both humble hearts, and the people eyes to see, that all flesh may be obedient to his will."

JEWELL TO HARDING.

Bishop Jewell thus writes in his Reply to Mr. Harding's Answer to his challenge, see life, p. 14—16.—Mr. Harding, not long since YOU taught us the gospel, even in like sort and form, in all respects, as it is taught us now.* We remember both your words, and also the manner and courage of your utterance. You told us of the paper walls, and painted fires of purgatory. You said Rome was the sink of Sodom;

* See lady Jane Grey's letter to Harding.

you said your mass was a heap of idolatry, and the mystery of iniquity; you wished your voice had been equal to the great bell of Oseney, that you might ring, as you then said, in the dull ears of the deaf papists. No man was so vehement and so earnest as you. The whole university and city of Oxford, the cross at Paul's, and other like places of great concourse, can well record it. You bade us then believe you upon your credit, and we believed you. The prince died; another was placed. Suddenly you had quite forgotten all that you had taught us before, and had as suddenly learned other things, all contrary to the former; which you told us you never knew before, and yet with one faith and one conscience, you required us earnestly to believe you still, even as we had done before!

As though your bare word were the rule of our faith, and whatsoever you should say, true or false, we simple people were bound of necessity to believe you. Howbeit, we think, if you tell us truth *now*, then you deceived us before; if you told us truth *before*, then you deceive us now. And thus it cannot be denied but this way or that way you have deceived us. And how may we know whether you speak as you think, or dissemble with us now, as ye did before? Surely St. James showeth us, That a man of double mind is ever inconstant in all his ways.

We marvelled how you could attain to all this doctrine, especially in so short a time, but most of all in such perfection. For the writings are large, and we hear say the councils are sundry, the doctors' volumes are long and many. So suddenly, in seven days, to read them all, and so to read them, it was not possible. You may, by your eloquence, persuade us many things. But this one thing you never can persuade us. You wanted time; it is not credible; it was not possible. Therefore you must needs say you were taught these things, even as the prophets were, *by revelation!* If any of your old hearers should thus put you in remembrance, what answer could you make him?

But it was not you, Mr. Harding—it was the time. If the time had been one, you had still continued one. But you were *forced* to know that which you knew not; and to think that which you thought not, and so to believe that which you believed not. Howbeit Hilary saith, "Forced faith is no faith."

Oh, Mr. Harding, you know right well the weakness of your side. No man seeth it better than yourself. If you

will dissemble and say you see it not, open your eyes, behold your own book, and you shall see it. You have forced the old doctors and ancient fathers to speak your mind and not their own.—You should have brought some truth for proof of your purpose—the world will not now be led with lies.

These are cases not of wit but of faith, not of eloquence but of truth. Not invented or devised by us, but from the apostles and holy fathers, and founders of the church by long succession brought unto us. We are not the devisers thereof, but only the keepers; not the masters, but the scholars. Touching the substance of religion, we believe what the ancient, catholic, learned fathers believed—we do what they did; we say what they said. And marvel not in what side soever ye see them, if ye see us join to the same. It is our great comfort that we see their faith and our faith to agree in one. And we pity and lament your miserable case, that having of yourselves erected a doctrine contrary to all the ancient fathers, yet would thus assay to colour the same, and to deceive the people only with the names and titles of ancient fathers.

Cyprian saith, "Lies can never deceive us long. It is night until the day spring. But when the day appeareth, and the sun is up, both the darkness of the night, and the thefts and robberies that in the darkness were committed, are fain to give place." Now the sun is up, your smother is scattered. God with his truth will have the victory. The heavens and the earth shall perish, but the word of God shall never perish.

O, Mr. Harding, O fight no longer against God. It is hard to kick against the spur. To maintain a fault known, is a double fault. Untruth cannot be shielded but by untruth. Error cannot be defended but by error. And the mouth that speaketh untruth killeth the soul.

God direct our hearts that we be not ashamed of his gospel, but that we may see it, and be seen to see it. God make us the vessels of his mercy that we may have pity of Sion, and build up again the broken walls of his Jerusalem to the honour and glory of his holy name. Amen.

The following Extract is from Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer.

ON THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST.

To prove that the priest offereth up the Son of God, Mr. Harding hath here brought in Eusebius, an ancient father,

who never once named any such oblation of the Son of God.—True it is, the ministration of the holy communion is often times by the old learned fathers called a sacrifice, not for that they thought the priest had authority to sacrifice the Son of God; but for that therein we offer up unto God thanks and praises for that great sacrifice once made upon the cross. So saith Augustine, "In this sacrifice is a thanksgiving, and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for us." Likewise Eusebius saith, "Christ after all things done, made a marvellous oblation and a passing sacrifice unto his Father (upon his cross) for the salvation of us all, giving unto us to offer continually unto God a remembrance instead of a sacrifice." So Nazianzen calleth the holy communion, "A figure of that great mystery of the death of Christ."

This it is Eusebius calleth "the sacrifice of the Lord's table;" also, "the sacrifice of praise." But Eusebius saith farther, "This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth the heart to quake." Mr. Harding may not well gather by any force of these words, that the Son of God is really offered up by the priest unto his Father. For all things, whatsoever, that put us in remembrance of the majesty and judgments of God, are called dreadful by the holy fathers.

The sacrifice maketh the heart to tremble, for that therein is laid forth the mystery that was hidden from worlds and generations—the horror of sin: the death of the Son of God. That he took our heaviness, and bare our sorrows, and was wounded for our offences, and was rent and tormented for our wickedness; that he was carried like an innocent lamb unto the slaughter; that he cried unto his Father, "O God, O my God, why hast thou thus forsaken me?"

There we call to remembrance all the causes, and circumstances of Christ's death; the shame of the cross; the darkening of the air; the shaking of the earth; the rending of the vail; the cleaving of the rocks; the opening of the graves; the descending into hell; and the conquering of the devil. Therefore, Chrysostom saith, "Any man hearing of the order of that night, how Christ was mournful among his disciples, how he was delivered, how he was bound, how he was led away, how he was arraigned, and how meekly he suffered all that was done unto him; were he as hard as a stone, yet would he be as soft as wax, and would throw both the earth, and all earthly cogitations away from him."

AN

EPISTLE

WRITTEN BY JOHN JEWELL,

BISHOP OF SARUM,

TO

SCIPIO, A GENTLEMAN OF VENICE,

IN ANSWER TO A LETTER IN WHICH THE LATTER COMPLAINS OF THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, FOR NOT APPEARING IN THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, NOR EXCUSING THAT ABSENCE BY LETTERS.

This letter has been briefly noticed in the life of Jewell p. 18. It is inserted in the present collection, as it contains a valuable exposure of the papal proceedings relative to the council of Trent, and a full statement of the unanswerable reasons that could be urged, even to a Romanist, on his own grounds, against the authority assumed by that council, which in reality was merely a political engine whereby the court of Rome farther established its power, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. A collection of the writings of the British Reformers would not be complete without some notice of that celebrated assembly.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, the corruptions of the church of Rome were advanced to such a height, that all Europe called for a reform in ecclesiastical affairs. When the Reformation, under Luther and his coadjutors had made some progress, this desire was still more strongly expressed; and many, both Protestants and Romanists, desired that a general council might be assembled, to make some settlement as to the disputed points of religion, and to remove the most crying abuses of popery. The court of Rome was very averse to such a measure; several successive popes endeavoured, by all the means in their power, to interpose obstacles to the meeting of a general council, remembering how the papal authority had been interfered with by the councils of Constance and Basil, not many years before. At length, however, they found that such an assembly could not be longer deferred. Their policy then was, that it should be so conducted as to be the means of strengthening their usurpations, and to confirm erroneous doctrine, rather than to promote reform, or advance the chris-

tian faith. The artful intrigues to which the court of Rome had recourse with these views, are fully exposed by father Paul in his History of the council of Trent, and in other works; they are incontestably proved by many documents which cannot be denied, or disputed by papists. These intrigues were successful, the chains by which the church of Rome has so long enthralled a large portion of the world, were rivetted more firmly by the decrees of the council. By them, the errors of that apostate church were moulded into a more plausible form, although none of its extravagant and wicked pretensions were condemned or laid aside. This was the LAST general council, and to its decrees, with the unscriptural principles and practices they authorize, every Romanist virtually declares allegiance. They may at all times be referred to as the AUTHORIZED opinions and doctrines of that corrupt church. It is true that many estimable individuals, professing to be Romanists, do not admit that they hold some of these errors, but they only prove thereby that on such points they themselves dissent from the church of Rome, not that the more moderate and correct views they entertain are become the doctrines of popery. The penalties which they would suffer for such dissent where the papal power has full authority, are well known, and if ever *that* power were again preeminent in England, it would bear most severely upon many who profess themselves to be its subjects as "English Catholics." Thus in the THE DECREES OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, we find the errors of the church of Rome, from the denial of justification by faith in Christ alone, to the adoration of saints, of the virgin, and of a wafer cake—from the punishment of death denounced against all who differ from its opinions, to the prohibition of the use of the word of God by the laity without license from priestly authority,—all are directly set forth, and sanctioned. To THESE DECREES, the protestant may refer, as containing a full exhibition of the reasons, "Why he will NOT be a papist," and FROM THESE DECREES, with the errors they set forth and sanction, no Romanist can appeal. Private judgment is not allowed him, and there is no superior authority recognised or admitted by his church

Only a very brief sketch of the council of Trent can be here given. The political intrigues of the powers by whom it was conducted and influenced; the unblushing profligacy, and the wickedness of life openly exhibited by the prelates who attended; the small proportion of the professedly christian world by which it was supported, all must be left to the historians of that council. It met in 1545, after an abortive attempt to procure a sufficient attendance two years before. It did not sit at Trent long without interruption, but in that period the famous, or rather infamous, decree respecting the scriptures was passed, although the cardinals and bishops then in attendance scarcely exceeded fifty, nearly all of whom were Italians, and on other occasions

they seldom amounted to so large a number. Pope Paul III., in 1547, under the pretext of a pestilential disorder having appeared in the city, transferred the council to Bologna, where it would be still more absolutely under his power. But the emperor opposed this barefaced usurpation, and the sittings of the council were discontinued. In 1551, the council was again assembled at Trent, when the protestant divines of Germany prepared to attend and state the doctrines they held. Every effort of papal ingenuity was secretly directed to prevent this exhibition of the light of truth; from the letters of Vargas, a Spanish prelate then present, it appears that nothing was more dreaded by the papal legates, than that necessity for preserving appearances to the world would compel them to allow the attendance of deputies from the protestants. The destruction of heretics by fire, sword, or the halter, was openly called for by a Dominican friar preaching before the council, who was suffered to proceed without censure.

At this juncture, the advance of Maurice and his army against the emperor struck the assembly with consternation. In April, 1552, the greater part of the prelates had fled, the council was prorogued, and pope Julius III., who felt the difficulties in which he was involved by the council, contrived to prevent its reassembling for ten years. The interval gave opportunity to the court of Rome to make the arrangements more complete, and when the council met in January, 1562, the proceedings were hurried forward, and hastily concluded in December, 1563, referring many subjects of moment to the decision of the existing pope, Pius IV., or his successors.

The decrees of the council of Trent have been implicitly received by the greater part of those countries which profess to be members of the church of Rome. France and some others have only received them in a limited degree as to their interference in secular concerns; but their doctrinal errors, with which a protestant is almost exclusively concerned, are received and maintained throughout the whole of that church which assumes to itself the character of infallibility, and recognises the supremacy of him who styles himself the successor of the apostle St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ upon earth.

The best history of this extraordinary assembly was written by father Paul, himself a Romanist. He says, "I will relate the causes and management of an ecclesiastical convocation, by some hastened and procured for divers ends, and by divers means; by some hindered and deferred for the space of twenty-two years, and during eighteen years more, sometimes assembled, sometimes dissolved. Always celebrated with divers intentions, and which have produced a conclusion altogether contrary to the design of those who procured it, and to the fears of those who, with all diligence, disturbed it—a clear instruction

for us to refer ourselves to God, and not to trust in the wisdom of man."

"For this council, desired and procured by godly men to reunite the church which began to be divided, hath so established the schism, and hath made the parties so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable. Being managed by princes for reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, it hath caused the greatest deformation that ever was since christianity began. Being hoped for by the bishops, to regain the episcopal authority usurped for the most part by the pope, it hath made them lose it altogether, bringing them into greater servitude. On the contrary, being feared and avoided by the see of Rome, as a potent means to moderate its exorbitant power, which had mounted from small beginnings, by divers degrees, to an unlimited excess, it hath so established and confirmed the same, over that part which remaineth subject to it, that it never before was so great nor so soundly rooted."

The above is a brief but correct view of the RESULT of the council of Trent. It may again be repeated, that, with all their deceits, falsehoods, errors, and blasphemies, its ordinances regulate the faith of those who profess themselves Roman Catholics at the present day. The spiritual guides of that church solemnly declare their assent, and swear that they will maintain ALL that has been delivered, defined, and declared in the sacred canons and general councils—extending through many folio volumes,—but they are ESPECIALLY* sworn to receive, and to profess, to their latest breath, what has been ordained by the COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The letter of Jewell to Scipio appears to have been written a short time previously to the reassembling of the council, after the long interval already mentioned, probably in 1562. A summary of his friend's arguments is given in the first paragraph of Jewell's reply, which never was answered. The original is in Latin, it was published in a separate form about the time when it was written, but it is not included in the folio collection of Jewell's works. The original, with an English translation, was appended by sir Nathaniel Brent to his translation of father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, published in 1629. Another translation, but of inferior merit, was printed in 1685, with an English edition of Jewell's Apology. The former version is here adopted with a few verbal corrections.

* Præcipue.

AN EPISTLE

FROM

JEWELL TO SCIPIO,

CONCERNING THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

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1. Sir, According to that intimate acquaintance, which hath been between us, ever since we lived together at Padua, where you were employed in the affairs of your commonwealth, and I in my studies; you write unto me familiarly, that you, and many others there with you, wonder, that since a general council at Trent hath been summoned by the pope, for the settling of religion, and the removing of controversies, and seeing that already all other nations from all parts are there assembled, the realm of England alone hath neither sent any ambassadors thither, nor by any messengers or letter excused their absence—but that without any council, it hath altered almost all the form of the old ancient religion; the former whereof, as you say, argues a proud stubbornness, the other a pernicious schism. For it is a superlative crime, say you, for any man to decline the most sacred authority of the pope of Rome; or to withdraw himself when called by him to a council. And as for the controversies about religion, that it is not lawful to debate them elsewhere than in such assemblies. For there are the patriarchs and bishops. There are the most learned men of all sorts. From their mouths the truth must be required. There are the lights of the churches. There is the Holy Ghost ever present. All godly princes, if any doubt had risen concerning God's worship, still referred it to a public consultation. That Moses, Joshua, David, Ezekias, Josias, and other judges, kings, priests, did not advise, concerning matters of religion, elsewhere than in the assembly of bishops. That Christ's apostles and the holy fathers held councils. That by this means the truth displayed her beams;

heresies were subdued; so was Arius vanquished, so Eunomius, so Eutiches, so Macedonius, so Pelagius. And that by the same means the present distractions of the world may be composed, and the breaches of the church made up again, if, contentions and factions laid aside, we would come to a council; without which nothing can lawfully be attempted in religion.

2. This in effect was the sum of your letter. I do not now take upon me to answer you in the behalf of the realm of England, by what advice every thing hath been done; neither do I think that you expect it from me, or desire it. The counsels of kings are hidden, and so ought to be. You know the old saying, Nor every where, nor to all, nor to all sorts of people. Yet for our old and intimate acquaintance, because I see you desire it so earnestly, I will briefly and friendly show you what I think, but, as it is said, as far as I know, and am able; and I doubt not but that will satisfy you.

3. We wonder, say you, that no ambassadors from England come to the council. I pray you, sir, do Englishmen only not come to this council? Were you yourself present at the council? Did you take a muster of them? Did you count them separately? Did you see that all other nations were met from all parts, excepting only the English? If you have such a mind to wonder, why do not you wonder at this too—that neither the three memorable patriarchs, of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, nor Presbyter John,* nor the Grecians, Armenians, Persians, Egyptians, Moors, Ethiopians, or Indians come to the council? For do not many of these people believe in Christ? Have they not bishops? Are they not baptized in the name of Christ? Are they not Christians and so called? Or did there come ambassadors from all these nations to the council? Or will you rather say that the pope did not call them, or that your ecclesiastical decrees take no hold of them?

4. But we wonder more at this, that the pope would call those men to a council, whom beforehand he had condemned for heretics, and openly pronounced as excommunicated, without hearing either them or their plea. For that men should be first condemned and punished, and afterwards brought to their trial, is absurd, and, as we say, The cart before the horse. But I would fain be resolved of this—whether the pope's meaning be, to advise in the

* The church of Abyssinia.

council concerning religion with us, whom he accounts heretics; or rather that we should plead our cause at the bar, and either change our opinion presently, or out of hand be condemned again? The former is without example, and denied heretofore by Julius the third, to those of our part. The other is ridiculous; if he think that the English will come to the council, only to be indicted, and to plead for themselves, especially before him, who long since is charged with most heinous crimes, not only by our side, but also by their own.

5. Now, if England only seem to you thus stubborn, where then are the ambassadors of the king of Denmark, of the princes of Germany, of the king of Sweden, of the Switzers, of the Grisons, of the Hanse Towns, of the realm of Scotland, of the dukedom of Prussia? Seeing so many Christian nations are wanting in your council, it is absurd in your reckoning to miss only the English. But why do I speak of these? The pope himself comes not to his own council! and why do you not wonder at that also? For what a pride is this, for one man, for his own pleasure, to assemble together all Christian kings, princes, and bishops when he listeth, and to require them to be at his call, and himself not to come in their presence?* Surely when the apostles summoned assemblies at Jerusalem, Peter the apostle, of whose see and succession they brag, would not be absent. But, as I conceive, Pius IV. the present pope, remembereth what happened heretofore to John XXII. that he came not in a very happy hour to the council of Constance; for he came thither a pope, but returned a cardinal.† Therefore, since then, the popes have provided for themselves in the rear, and have kept at home, and have withstood all councils, and free disputes. For above forty years since, when doctor Martin Luther was cursed by the pope with bell, book, and candle, because he had begun to preach the gospel, and to reform religion out of God's word, and had humbly requested that his whole cause might be referred to the cognizance of a general council, he could have no audience. For pope Leo X. saw well enough, if the matter should come to a council, that his own state might come in danger, and that he might perchance hear what he would not willingly.

6. Indeed the name of a general council carries a fair show, if it be assembled as it ought, and, if affections laid

* None of the popes attended the council of Trent in person.

† John XXII. was deposed by the council of Constance, A. D. 1415.

aside, all things are referred to the rule of God's word, and the truth only aimed at. But if religion and godliness be openly beaten down, if tyranny and ambition be established, if men study faction, gluttony, lust, there is nothing more pernicious for the church of God. All this I have spoken hitherto, as if this council, which you call so, did subsist somewhere, and were indeed a council, which I think absolutely to be none. Or if it be one, and subsist any where, surely it is an obscure one, and kept very close. For though we are not very far off, yet we can by no means learn what is done there, what bishops have met, or rather indeed whether any at all are met. Nay besides, above twenty months since,* when this council was first summoned by pope Pius IV. the emperor Ferdinand answered, that though all other matters were accommodated, yet he did much dislike the place which the pope had made choice of for himself. For Trent, though a pleasant city, yet neither was commodiously enough seated for the accommodation of so many nations, nor able to receive so great a multitude of men, as were likely to meet at a general council. Nearly the same answer was returned from other Christian princes; and from some, in much sharper terms. Therefore we believed that all these things, together with the council itself, had vanished away into smoke.†

7. But I pray you, who is he that hath summoned this

* This date points out about what time Jewell wrote to Scipio. A public communication relative to the reassembling of the council of Trent was made to the ambassadors of the different powers by Pius IV. on June 3d, 1560, about six months after his elevation to the papacy. The emperor objected to the place, as is here mentioned; the pope however persisted, and on November 29th, the same year, issued his bull summoning the council, which was opened on January 18th, 1562, but did not proceed with much activity for some months. The letter must have been written in the autumn of 1562, probably soon after the sittings had commenced. There was some debate at the recommencement of the proceedings, whether the assembly should be considered as a new council, or as the continuation of that which had been suspended ten years before; the latter was resolved on. It is hardly needful to remind the reader, that in the sixteenth century, intelligence of public events did not circulate with the same rapidity as at the present day.

† As on the first assembling of the council in August, 1542, when only the pope's legates, and a few Italian bishops, with some under the emperor's influence, and the imperial ambassador attended. The legates declined to open the council with so small an attendance, and after remaining at Trent seven months, they were recalled by the pope; the bishops had departed previously under various pretexts.

council, and called the world together? You will say, pope Pius IV. And why he, rather than the bishop of Toledo? For by what power, by what example of the primitive church, by what right doth he this? Did Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clemens,* thus toss and tumble the world with their proclamations? This was always, whilst the empire flourished, the special right of the emperors of Rome. But now, since the power of the empire is lessened, and kingdoms by succession share part of the imperial power, that power is communicated to Christian kings and princes. Search the annals, lay together the memorials of all antiquity, you shall find that the most ancient councils, the Nicene, the Ephesine, that of Chalcedon, that of Constantinople, have been called by the Roman emperors, Constantine, Theodosius I., Theodosius II., Marcian, not by the popes of Rome.

8. Leo the pope, a man otherwise loving enough to himself, and no way neglectful of the authority of his see, did humbly beseech Marcian the emperor, A. D. 481, that he would summon a council to be held in Italy, as being the fittest place. All the priests, says he, beseech your clemency, that you would command a general council to be held within Italy. But the emperor caused that council to be assembled, not in Italy, which the pope earnestly laboured, but at Chalcedon, in Bithynia; to show that was his right, and belonged to him only. And when Ruffinus, in the bickering which he had with Jerome, had alleged a certain synod, Tell me, says Jerome, what emperor caused it to be called? Jerome did not think the authority of a general council firm enough, unless an emperor had called it. I demand not now, what emperor hath commanded the bishops to be called to Trent at this present? But with what emperor did the pope, who hath taken thus much to himself, advise of holding the council; what Christian king or prince did he make privy to his design? To intrude upon another's right by fraud or force, and to usurp for his own what belongs to others, is injurious dealing. But to abuse the clemency of princes, and to rule over them as his vassals, is an egregious and an intolerable disgrace to them. But for us by our complying, to go about to back such an injury, and disgrace, were no less injury. Wherefore if we should only say thus much, that this Trent council of yours is not lawfully called, that pope Pius hath done nothing rightly or orderly, no man could justly find fault with our absence.

* Said to be the earliest bishops of Rome.

9. I pass over the wrongs which the popes of Rome have done us. They have, as often as they pleased, armed our people against their sovereign. They have pulled the sceptres out of our kings' hands, and the crowns from off their heads. They would have the kingdom of England to be theirs, and held in their name, and our kings to reign by their favour.* Within these latter years, they have stirred up against us, sometimes the French, sometimes the emperor. What the intentions of Pius himself have been towards us, what he hath done, what he hath spoken, what he hath practised, what he hath threatened, it is needless to rehearse. For his actions and his words are not so close, so concealed, but that the aim of both may be discovered. By what courses he was made pope, and by what steps he mounted to so great a dignity, I say nothing. I do not say, that he aspired to the popedom by corrupting of cardinals, buying of voices, by price and purchase, by underminings, and ambushes. I do not say, that lately, being not able to quit scores, he cast cardinal Caraffa into prison, and there murdered him, by whose assistance he had compassed the rest of the cardinals' voices, to whom for that service he owed a great sum of money. These, and divers other things, I leave to you, who both behold them at a nearer distance, and better understand them.† And can you wonder then, that we come not to a man of blood, one that purchases voices, that denies to pay his debts, to a simoniacal person, to a heretic? Believe me, it is not the part of a wise man wilfully to run into a place infected, and to consult of religion with the enemies of religion. My mother, says one, forbade me the company of infamous persons. John the apostle durst not sit in the same bath, nor wash with Cerinthus, lest he should be struck from heaven with the same thunder. I have not sat, saith David, in the assembly of vanity, neither will I walk with the workers of iniquity.

10. But admit that this is the pope's proper right; let it be in his power to call councils, to govern the whole world. Let those things be false and vain, which we have spoken concerning the power of the emperor, and the right of kings. Grant that pope Pius is an honest man; that he was duly and lawfully made pope; that he sought no man's life; that

* On the accession of queen Elizabeth being notified to the pope, no breach with the papal see then existing, the pope expressed his surprise that she should have dared to assume the crown of England without having previously obtained his consent.

† They were notorious.

he did not kill Caraffa in prison; yet it is fit that councils should be free; that every man may be present that will, and those, with whose convenience it stands not, may be absent. And such was anciently the equity and moderation of those better men. The princes were not then called together in such a slavish manner, that if any one of them had stayed at home, or had not sent ambassadors to the council, presently every eye was upon him, every finger pointing at him. In the Nicene council, in the Ephesine, in that of Constantinople, what spy observed who were absent? But there was no ambassador then, either from England, or Scotland, or Poland, or Spain, or out of the two Pannonias,* or out of Denmark, or out of all Germany. See, read, re-examine the subscriptions, you shall find it as I say. And why do not you marvel then, that the English came not to those councils, being so full, so famous, so renowned, so frequented? Or that the popes in those times were so patient, as not to condemn them for contumacy? But this tyranny of the popes was not yet grown up; it was lawful then for holy bishops, and fathers, as it stood with their convenience, to stay at home without prejudice. The apostle Paul would not put himself upon the council at Jerusalem, but rather appealed to Cæsar. Athanasius, the bishop, though the emperor summoned him to the council at Cæsarea, yet he would not come. The same man in the Syrmian council, when he saw that the Arians were likely to prevail, presently withdrew himself, and went his way, and the western bishops following his example, refused to come to that council. John Chrysostom came not to the Arian council, though the emperor Arcadius called him, both by letter, and also by message. At what time the Arian bishops assembled in Palestine, and drew with them the votes of the greater part, old Paphnutius, and Maximus bishop of Jerusalem, went out together out of the midst of their assembly. Bishop Cyril appealed from the council of the Patropassians. Paulinus, bishop of Treves, would not come to the council of Milan, because he saw that by the favour and power of the emperor Constantius, all things went on Auxentius the Arian's side. The bishops that had met in a council at Constantinople, being called to a council at Rome, refused to come. Which notwithstanding turned not to their prejudice, though they were called by the emperor's letters. In those days the excuse seemed reason-

* Hungary.

able enough, that they were to watch over the charge and reformation of their own churches. Though they saw that the Arians sought to possess all the churches, and that their presence would have been of great importance for the abating of their rage.

11. What if our bishops should now give the same answer—that they can spare no time from their sacred functions; that they are wholly employed in restoring again their own churches; that they cannot be absent, five, six, seven years, especially there, where they should be able to do no good? For our bishops are not so idle as those at Rome, that live in pleasure in their palaces, and dance attendance upon the cardinals, and hunt after livings. Our churches are so miserably wasted and ruined by them, that they cannot be repaired in a small time, or with ordinary diligence. But now we see plainly that these men seek to encroach upon our time, that without any necessity we might be drawn abroad, and so disabled to advance the gospel at home, and in the council be hindered by them.

12. For the pope, that you may not be mistaken, does but make a show of a council, and means it not, for think not that he does any thing sincerely or truly. Lewis XI. was wont to say to Charles VIII. that he who knows not how to make shows of what he means not, knows not kingcraft. But, as the times go now, he that knows not how to dissemble what he means, and to cloak his designs under a disguised countenance, is much more ignorant how to play the pope. For that see is wholly supported with mere hypocrisy, which the less natural strength it hath, so much the more colour it needs. For if the popes thought a general council so effectual for removing of schisms, why did they defer a thing so necessary thus long? Why did they sit quiet thirty years together, and suffer Luther's doctrine to take root? Why did they not call a council at the first? Why did they assemble the Trent council with such reluctance and unwillingness, more by the instigation of the emperor Charles, than of their own accord. And having been at Trent well nigh ten years, with all this deliberation, why have they done just nothing? Why have they left the matter undone? Who hindered, who withstood them? Believe me in this, good brother, the popes are not in hand now to keep a solemn council, or to restore religion, which they make a mock of. That which they intend, and seek, and labour for, is to delude the minds of godly men,

and the whole world, with a pompous expectation of a general council.

13. They see that their wealth hath been lessening now a long time, and declining. That their tricks do not find the same credit now as heretofore. That an incredible number of men every day fall from them. That men do not now run to Rome in such troops. That there is not, now-a-days, so high an estimation, or so dear a price given for indulgences, interdicts, blessings, absolutions, and empty bulls. That their mart of ceremonies and masses, and all their harlot trumpery is slighted. That a great part of their tyranny and pomp is shrunk. That their revenues are more slender than they were wont to be. That they and theirs are laughed at every where, even by mere children. That their whole rest lies now at stake. And indeed it is no wonder if those things fall, which had no roots to hold them. Our Saviour Jesus Christ extinguished all those things, not by arms or force of men, but by the heavenly impulse and breath of his mouth; he will consume and abolish them with the brightness of his coming. This is the force of God's word; this is the power of the gospel; these are the weapons by which every fortification is overthrown, which is raised against the knowledge of God. This doctrine shall be preached through the whole world in despite of them all; the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. The merit-mongers' shops now wax cold at Rome; their wares, as if Porsenna's goods were put to sale,* are very low priced, and yet can scarcely find a chapman. The indulgence broker trots up and down, and finds no fools. This is it; hence grows their grief; this vexes the popes. They see that this so great a light broke forth from one spark. What is it likely to do now, when so many fires are kindled in all places of the world? And so many Christian kings and princes acknowledge and profess the gospel? For they serve not Christ Jesus, but their bellies. They say that Carneades the philosopher, when he was at Rome, and

* Porsenna besieged Rome at an early period of its history. Having made peace, he ordered his soldiers to leave their tents with the provisions and other stores they contained, which were sold to the people by public sale, and much relieved their wants. In commemoration of this kindness, whenever any goods belonging to the public were offered for sale without reserve, proclamation was made, "They are Porsenna's goods." At length this became a proverb, generally understood to mean that the articles so offered were to be sold cheap.

made that memorable speech against justice, amongst other things added this, That this virtue, if it were one, would be less profitable to no kind of men, than to the Romans. For they, by force and robbery, had subdued other men's dominions to themselves, and had compassed the empire of the world by high injustice. Now if they would at length observe justice, they must restore all those things which they possess unjustly. They must return to their shepherd's cottages, and their cold sheds, which were all they had in the beginning. So verily, these men, if they would deal plainly, and lay aside their disguises, and do their duty, and render every one his own, they see they must come to their staff and scrip again, to sobriety and modesty, to the labours and function of bishops. For they have heard Augustine say, that the name of a bishop, is a name of work, not of honour; and, that they are no bishops who would have the preeminence above others, but care not to benefit them. And therefore they see, that it is less advantage for themselves, than for any sort of men, to have the gospel spread wider, and further propagated; for they cannot be safe, if they will be sound. Therefore, now they raise tumults, and puzzle all, as Demetrius the silversmith did of old, when he saw that his hopes of gain were crossed. Now, therefore, councils are summoned; the abbots and bishops are called to make a party. For this they thought the most cunning plot, to spin out the time for some years, to hold men's minds in suspense with expectation; many things, as is usual, might fall out in the mean time. Some war might be raised. One of these princes might die; this so sharp desire of theirs for the gospel might in process of time be dulled; men's minds might wax cool. In the mean while, as one says, somewhat will be done I hope.

14. Long since, the Persians having been vanquished and triumphed over, when the Athenians had begun to repair their walls, which the Persians had laid level with the ground, and the Lacedemonians had straitly interdicted them, to the end that they might keep them the easier under their check—Themistocles the Athenian general, a wise man, seeing that the safety of his country might be hazarded, promised that he would come to Lacedemon to confer with them about it. So, being upon the way, to spend time, he feigned himself sick, that he might tarry the longer upon his journey. At length, being come to Lacedemon, he began to make many cavils on set purpose. Sometimes the

covenants did not please him. Sometimes he demanded time to advise. Sometimes he must wait for his fellow ambassadors, without whom nothing could be done; otherwise he must send ambassadors to Athens. In the mean time, whilst he trifled, the Athenians had walled their city round; and, if any force were offered, were provided of a defence. So these men, whilst they put off from day to day, and will have all referred to councils; in the mean while they build up their walls, whilst we sit idle, looking after we know not what; that at the last, when they have made all safe, they may shut us out wholly, and neither a council may be held, nor any thing at all done.

15. For it is worth the pains to observe their tricks and fetches. How often councils have been summoned, which have not met! How often a mere rumour has disturbed all their preparation, and all the expectations! How often have the fathers made a stand upon the sudden in the midst of their journey! How often have the scarlet counsellors slipped home in the midst of the council, having done just nothing; and have adjourned the next session till the ninth or tenth year following! How often have they quarrelled with the air, the victuals, the place, the time! For the pope only assembles the councils, and he alone dismisses them when he pleases. If any thing please him not, or the business begin to go awry, presently the solemn close of the plays is heard, Valete, et Plaudite, Farewell, and clap your hands. A council is called at Basil, A. D. 1431. They meet from all parts in great numbers. They fall earnestly upon many matters. Eugenius the pope is cast by all the voices, as a simoniacal and schismatical person. Amadeus, duke of Savoy, is put in his place. Eugenius, as his part was, takes this indignly, thinks with himself, that this might be a dangerous precedent for posterity. That his power and strength were far above all councils. That a council could not meet but by his command; nor determine on any thing, but what he pleased. That it was an ungodly act, to inquire into his life in a conventicle of bishops. Presently he calls back the council to Ferrara in Italy; afterwards he translates it to Florence. Why what doings are these, I pray? Did Eugenius think the climate would alter men's minds, or that the Holy Ghost would give more discreet answers in Italy, than he had formerly in Germany? Nay, nay, in all those changes he sought not after Christ, but his own benefit. He saw that his enemy, Sigismond the emperor, did overtop him in Ger-

many, both in power, and in favour. And those fathers which had met at Basil, if they were removed out of those harsh and rough countries into Italy, they might, as trees when they are transplanted, be made more mellow. For now-a-days, lamentable that it be so, the intent or scope of councils is not to discover truth, or to confute falsehood. For in these later ages, this hath been the only endeavour of the popes, to establish the Roman tyranny, to set wars on foot, to set Christian princes together by the ears, to raise money, sometimes for the holy land, sometimes for the building of St. Peter's church, sometimes for other uses, I know not what, or rather abuses, all which money was to be cast into some few bellies, in gluttony and lust. And this hath been the only cause or course of councils for some ages last past. For of errors and abuses, as if there were none at all, nothing ever could be handled.

16. Peter Alliacensis made great complaint in the council of Constance concerning the covetousness and pride of the court of Rome, but what good did he? Was there any part of their controversy or pride restrained by the authority of the council? The same man says, that holy days, and the flocks of idle monks ought in his opinion to be lessened. And another, in a certain work entitled Tripartite, and joined to the Lateran council, says the whole world, almost, speaks against it, and is scandalized at the infinite multitude of beggarly friars. And the fathers in the council of Lateran, say, We strictly command that, for the future, no man invent a new religious order. Since that time what hath been done for holy days, I know not: it is probable, that no abatement is made. But for the orders of monks, they are infinitely multiplied. For the last popes have added Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines; as if there had not been yet enough of these slow bellies. John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, exhibited in the council of Constance, seventy-five abuses in the church of Rome, which he earnestly desired might be reformed. But of so great a number, what one abuse did they take away? John Picus Mirandula writes to pope Leo, to abridge idle ceremonies, and to restrain the luxury of priests. The bishops afterwards, in the Lateran council sat in great numbers, and moved much expectation. But what one ceremony did they abate? What one priest's luxury or lewdness did they condemn? Mantuan the poet complains by name of the manners of the church of Rome. Bernard the abbot writes thus to pope Eugenius: Your court

receives good men, but makes them not; wicked men thrive there, the good pine and fall away. And speaking of the woful state of the church in those days, From the sole of the foot, saith he, to the crown of the head, there is no health in her. And again, says he, Where is there one to preach the acceptable year of the Lord? Now-a-days, saith he, they keep not Christ's spouse, but destroy her; they feed not the Lord's flock, but slaughter and devour it. Pope Adrian VI. when he sent his legate into Germany, confessed truly and ingenuously, that the state of the whole clergy was most corrupt. All we prelates, says he, have swerved every one to his own way, neither is there now any one that doth good, no not one. Albertus Pighius confesses, that in the mass itself, which they would have to be most sacred, and in which alone they place the main of Christian religion, are found errors and abuses. What needs more? I pass over other witnesses, for they are infinite. There were many councils held after the council of Constance; the bishops were called together;* the synod of Basil was summoned, as they then made show, expressly for the reformation of the whole clergy. But since that time, the errors have been increased in all places; nay the vices of the priests themselves doubled.

17. The cardinals chosen by pope Paul III. to consider of the state of the church, made report, that there were many corruptions in it, especially in the manners of the bishops and clergymen.† That the bishops were idle, did not instruct the people, nor feed the flock, nor look to the Lord's vineyard; that they lived in princes' courts, and kept not home. That the cardinals had sometimes three, sometimes four bishoprics in commendam, with great prejudice to the church; for that those offices are not, as they say, compatible, or to be held together. That the conventual orders ought to be wholly banished out of the church. Since this, the Trent council hath been held. But have the bishops since then begun to feed the flock? Have they left their

* The council of Basil was held A. D. 1431.

† This commission of cardinals was appointed A. D. 1537. Some few enormities were pointed out, but the remedies suggested were very inadequate, and the errors in doctrine were left untouched. The pope ordered that the report should be concealed, but a copy being sent to Germany, it was there printed with animadversions by Luther, exposing the futility of the proposed remedies. A frontispiece was prefixed, which represented the pope sitting upon a throne, while some cardinals about him were brushing down cobwebs with foxes tails fastened to long poles.

non-residence and living in princes' courts? Have the cardinals ceased to be bishops? Or is it provided that the church sustain no prejudice thereby? Have the conventual orders been abridged, or has religion amongst them been reformed? What need then was there of calling together so many bishops so far off, or to advise so many years in vain, of reforming the church? This is just like the pharisees going about to repair God's church.

18. They confess errors and abuses. They call councils and pretend a zeal of religion and godliness. They promise their pains and endeavours; that they will join with us, to build up again whatsoever is fallen down. Just so, as the enemies of God's people said they would join with Nehemiah to build the Lord's temple. For they did not intend the building of the Lord's temple, but by all possible means to hinder it. They will be reconciled to us, but so as Nahash the tyrant would long ago, with the Jews of Jabesh Gilead; 1 Sam. xi. upon no other conditions, but that we must suffer our right eyes to be plucked out; that is, that we should suffer ourselves to be bereaved of God's word, and the gospel of our salvation.

19. For have they any care of religion? Care they for God's church, who care neither for God's vengeance nor the salvation of the people, nor any part of their own duty? Let Pan, say they, look to his sheep; they, in the mean time, manage wars, hunt, fare sumptuously; to say no worse of them. Oh! who would believe that these men ever think of God's church or religion? What errors will these men ever take away or when? What light will they restore unto us? Whatsoever you say, though you carried the sun itself in your hands, yet they will not see. Open errors they excuse as far as they are able, and colour and smooth them, as anciently Symmachus or Porphyry did the errors and follies of the heathen. And indeed they are wholly set upon this, not to seem to have led God's people astray, or at any time to have erred themselves. Or if it come into their heads to amend any thing, which either they never do, or very seldom and sparingly; as it is reported of Alexander, an emperor of Rome, that being not altogether averse from the Christian religion, he worshipped Christ and Orpheus in the same chapel; and as in times past the ancient Samaritans retained the worship of the true God, and of idols both together, 2 Kings xvii. so they will receive perchance some part of the gospel upon this condition, that therewith they may admit

superstitions, and doting errors. They receive truth, so that they may retain falsehood. They allow of ours, so that they may not disallow their own. And so they do not take away, but colour abuses, and only new plaster old pillars.

20. In this manner do they reform God's church; so are the council and synods kept. Truth is not followed, but men's affections. The better part is mastered by the greater. Indeed the very name of a general council carries a glorious lustre. But yet oftentimes poison is caroused out of a fair cup. For it is not enough for a few bishops and abbots to have met in one place; the virtue of a council consists not in mitres and scarlet robes; neither is every decree of a council directly to be received for an oracle. That was a council of which the prophet Isaiah writes, ch. xxx. 1. Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, who assemble a council, but not by me. In another place, Take counsel and it shall come to nought, ch. viii. 10. That was a council of which the prophet David speaks, The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed. That was a council which condemned the Son of God, Christ Jesus, to the cross. That was a council which was held at Carthage under Cyprian; in which it was decreed that those who had been baptized by heretics, when they returned to the church, ought to be baptized again. Which error afterwards required so many councils and writings of the fathers to repeal. What needs many words? The second Ephesine council openly took part with Eutyches, that the human nature in Christ was turned into his divinity. The second Nicene council decreed manifest idolatry about adoration of images. The council of Basil, as Albertus Pighius says, decreed against all antiquity, against nature, against reason, against the word of God. The council of Ariminum decreed for the Arians most impiously, that Christ was not God. Many other ensuing councils, that of Smyrna, the Aerian, the Seleucian, the Syrmian, did both condemn the Homoousians,* and also subscribe to the impiety of the council of Ariminum. What

* The Homoousians were the orthodox Christians, so denominated from the Greek word *omoousios*, signifying that the Son of God was of *the same substance* with the Father. The Arians being required to subscribe to this doctrine, substituted the word *omoiousios*, signifying only of a *like essence*. Some modern infidels have represented this as a difference of no importance, involving only a single letter; but in reality it involves the whole question of the Deity of Christ. The councils here referred to by Jewell supported the Arian views.

would you have more? The council of Chalcedon itself, which was one of those four which Gregory compares with the four gospels, pope Leo did not hesitate to challenge it of unadvisedness.

21. Therefore we see councils have been often opposite one to another. And as Leo the pope abrogated the acts of Adrian, Stephen of Formosus, John of Stephen, and as Sabinian the pope commanded all pope Gregory's writings to be burnt, as erroneous and impious; so we see oftentimes that a later council hath repealed all the decrees of a former. The Carthage council decreed, that the bishop of Rome should not be called either the highest priest, or the chief of priests, or by any other the like name. But following councils have styled him, not only chief priest, but also chief pontiff, and head of the catholic church. The Eliberine council decreed that nothing which ought of right to be worshipped, should be painted on the walls of churches. The council of Constantinople decreed that images were not to be suffered in Christian churches. On the other side, the second Nicene council, determined, that images were not only to be placed in churches, but also to be worshipped. The Lateran council under pope Julius the second, was summoned for no other cause, but to repeal the decrees of the Pisan council. So oftentimes the later bishops oppose those that went before them, and councils close up one another's lights. For these men will not be bound, no, not to their own councils, but only as far as they please, and is commodious for them, and will bring grist to their mill! The Basil council determined that a council of bishops was above the pope. But the Lateran council under Leo decreed that the pope was above the council. And the pope does not only bear himself so, but also commands him to be held for a heretic, that shall think otherwise. But yet all the bishops and abbots in the council of Basil say thus, He that opposeth these truths is to be accounted a heretic. How will you conduct yourself, I beseech you? Whatsoever you say, or think, either the pope or the council will esteem you a heretic. All popes, for some ages last past, have opposed these truths; therefore, all popes that lived in these ages, have been heretics, in the judgment of the council of Basil. The same council did with a uniform consent remove pope Eugenius, a simoniacal and schismatical person, and put Amadeus in his place.* But Eugenius vilified the council's

* Amadeus was raised to the papacy by the council of Basil in

decree; and though he were most simoniacal and schismatical, yet he continued to be the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, and head of the whole church of God! He retained his former dignity in despite of all they could do, and was magnificently carried, as before upon noblemen's shoulders. Amadeus as one fallen from his horse, walked on foot like a simple man, and thought himself happy, that of a pope he was made a cardinal. The council of Trent has commanded that bishops should teach the people, and that no one man should have more than one spiritual preferment at one time. But they, contrary to the edict of their council, accumulate benefices, and instruct not at all. So they make laws, but obey them not, but when they list. This is the esteem they have always shown for their own councils, and the decrees thereof.

22. And why should we hope for better success at this present? With what expectation or hope can any one come to the council? Do but think with yourself what manner of men they are, upon whose fidelity, learning, and judgment, the weight of this whole council, the discussing of all questions, and the whole state of all things must lie and rest. They are called abbots and bishops, grave persons and fair titles, men, as it is believed, of great importance for the government of the church of God. But take from these men their titles, the persons they bear, and their trappings, there will nothing that belongs to an abbot or a bishop remain in them. For they are not ministers of Christ, dispensers of the mysteries of God; they apply not themselves to reading, or to preach the gospel; they feed not the flock, they till not the ground, they plant not the Lord's vineyard, nor kindle the fire, nor bear the ark of the Lord, nor are the ambassadors of Christ. They watch not, nor do the work of an evangelist, nor perform the duty of their ministry; they entangle themselves with secular business; they hide the Lord's treasure; they take away the keys of the kingdom of God; they go not in themselves, nor suffer others; they beat their fellow-servants, they feed themselves, and not the flock. They sleep, snore, feast, and riot. They are

1430, in opposition to Eugenius IV. against whom they pronounced a sentence of deposition for his evil conduct; Eugenius refused to comply, and was supported by a rival council which he had assembled at Florence. This schism in the papacy was proceeding to extremities, but was terminated by the opportune decease of Eugenius, when his rival who had taken the name of Felix V. quietly resigned, and a compromise was effected by the election of Nicholas V. who confirmed the decrees of the council of Basil.

clouds without water, stars without light, dumb dogs, slow bellies; as Bernard saith, not prelates, but Pilates; not doctors, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors. The servants of Christ, saith he, serve antichrist. The popes will allow none but these to have place and suffrage in the council. The care and charge of Christ's catholic church must depend upon their power and judgment. Upon none but such as these doth pope Pius rely. But what manner of persons are they? They hold it ridiculous to ask that question. It is no matter, say they, how learned, or how religious they are; what their aim is, or what they think: if they can sit upon a mule; if they can ride through the streets with pomp, and with a noise; if they can come into the council, though they say nothing, it is sufficient. If you believe me not, and think I speak in jest, hear what the faculty of divinity, and the whole Sorbonne,* have determined concerning this matter. They say, "That which our great masters affirm, concerning the due assembling of a council, is to be understoood thus; that for the lawful calling of a council, it is sufficient that the form of law be solemnly observed. For if it should be disputed, whether the prelates there assembled have a good intention; whether they are learned, especially in the Scriptures, and are willing to obey wholesome doctrine, it would prove an infinite business." Those, forsooth, who sit mute like the statues of Mercury, not knowing what belongs to religion, will determine well concerning all points of religion, and, whatever they say, they cannot possibly err.

23. These are bound to the pope, not through error and ignorance, but by oath and religion. So that although they should understand the truth, they cannot without perjury make profession of it, and are necessitated to break faith, either with God or man. For this is the formal oath which they all take. "I N. bishop, will henceforward bear true faith to St. Peter, and to the holy apostolic Roman church, to my lord the pope N. and his successors, who shall enter canonically. I will not be a means, either by word or deed, that he may lose either life, or member, or be taken prisoner. I will not reveal any council that he shall impart unto me, either by letters or message, which may be any way hurtful to him: I will help to defend and maintain against all the world the papacy of the church of Rome, and the rules of the holy fathers." In old time, when the priest of

* The faculty of theology in the university of Paris.

the Pythian Apollo began to speak plainly in favour of king Philip, many merrily said, that Apollo began to philippize. When we see that nothing is decreed in the council but at the pope's pleasure, why may we not say that the oracles of the councils do papize; that is, they say nothing but what the pope will? When Verres was charged with many crimes, of which in all probability he was guilty, they say he was so wise, as not to commit his trial to any, but only to some trusty persons of his own train. The popes have dealt more wisely. For they have chosen such judges, who they know neither will, because it is their own case, in regard they refer all to voluptuousness and gluttony, nor can if they would, because they are sworn, decree any thing contrary to his will and pleasure. They set the Holy Bible in the midst, as if they would do nothing against it; they only look upon it afar off, and read it not. Indeed they bring a prejudicated opinion with them, not regarding what Christ hath said, but decreeing whatsoever they please.

24. Therefore that liberty which ought to be in all consultations, especially sacred, and which is most proper to the Holy Ghost, and the modesty of Christians, is quite taken away. Paul saith, If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace, 1 Cor. xiv. 30. But these men apprehend, imprison, and burn whosoever dareth but whisper against them. Witness hereof the cruel death of two most holy and resolute men, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whom they put to death contrary to their safe conduct, and so broke their faith, both with God and man. So the wicked prophet Zedekiah, when he had put on iron horns, struck Michaiah the prophet of the Lord on the face, saying, How hath the Spirit of God left me, and is come to thee? 1 Kings xxii. 24. Therefore these men alone domineer in councils, all others being excluded. They alone give voices, and make laws; like unto the Ephesians in times past. Let no man, say they, live here, who is wiser than the rest, except he have a mind to be cast into banishment. They will not hear any of our men speak. In the last convention of the council of Trent, ten years since, the ambassadors of the princes and free cities of Germany came thither with a purpose to be heard, but were absolutely refused. For the bishops and abbots answered, that they would not suffer their cause to have a free hearing, nor suffer controversies to be discussed out of the word of God; that our men were not to be heard at all except they would re-

cant; which if they refused to do, they should come into the council upon none other condition but to hear the sentence of condemnation pronounced against them. For Julius III. in his bull of indiction of the council declared plainly, that either they should change their opinions, or else should be condemned for heretics, before they were heard. Pius IV. who hath now a purpose to re-assemble the council, hath already prejudged for heretics all those who have left the Roman church, that is to say, the greatest part of the Christian world, before they were ever either seen or heard. They say, and they say it often, that already all is well with them, and that they will not alter one jot of their doctrine and religion. Albertus Pighius saith, that without the authority of the Roman church one ought not to believe the clearest and plainest Scripture. Is this to restore the church to her integrity? Is this to seek the truth? Is this the liberty and moderation of councils?

25. Though these things are most unjust and most different from the fashion of ancient councils and of modest men, yet this is more unjust, that whereas the world complains of the papal pride and tyranny, and believes that nothing can be amended in the church of God until the pope be reduced into order, yet all things are referred unto him, as unto a most conscientious peace-maker and judge! And unto what kind of a man are they referred? I will not call him an enemy of the truth, ambitious, covetous, proud, intolerable, even to his own followers. But they would make judge of all religion him who commandeth that all his determinations shall be of equal value with those of Peter himself, and saith, that in case he carry a thousand souls with himself to hell, yet no man ought to reprehend him for it. Who vouches that he can make injustice to be justice;* whom Camotensis affirms to have corrupted the Scriptures, that he might have fulness of power. And to conclude, whom his own familiars and followers, Joachim Abbot, Petrarch, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savanorola, do clearly pronounce to be the antichrist. All is referred to the judgment and will of this man alone; so that the same man is the party arraigned, and the judge. The accusers are heard from an inferior place; and the party accused sits in his tribunal, and pronounces the sentence concerning himself. These laws, forsooth, so equal, and so reasonable, pope Julius hath given

* See pp. 240. 254. 288.

us. No council, saith he, is of any credit, nor ever will be, unless it be confirmed by the authority of the church of Rome. Boniface VIII. saith, That no creature in the world can possibly be saved, except he be subject to the Roman church. And pope Paschal thus; As though, saith he, any councils have made laws for the church of Rome, when all councils do subsist by it, and receive their strength from it, and expressly except in all their decrees the authority of the bishop of Rome. Another saith, That which the pope approves or disapproves, we ought to approve or disapprove likewise. And again, It is not lawful for any man to disallow that which the pope approves. I know not what parasite it is who most shamelessly saith, that though all the world should be of one opinion against the pope, yet it seems to me that the pope's opinion must be maintained. And another as impudently as he; It is a kind of sacrilege but to dispute of the pope's actions, who though he be not always a good man, yet he must always be presumed to be so. Another yet more impudently saith, The pope's will is heavenly; therefore in those things which he willeth, his will standeth for reason; neither ought any man to say to him, Why do you so? To leave many the like sayings, which are infinite, and to make an end, pope Innocent IX. speaks most impudently of all, "The judge will not be judged, neither by the emperor, nor by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by all the people of the world." How near are they come to say, I will ascend upon the north pole, and I will be like to the Most High! Isa. xiv. 14. If the popes say true, what need we a council? If they will hold a sincere and a free council, away with these wicked and vain-glorious lies. Let them not only not be practised, but let them even be rased out of all their books, that all may not be left to the will and pleasure of one man who is most justly suspected. But the popes, say they, cannot err, and that the word of God is to be regulated as they please. Before they enter into their place, they swear to maintain certain recent councils, which are most foully corrupt, and do religiously promise that nothing shall be changed. What marvel then that no good comes of a council, if errors and abuses are not taken away? That the ambassadors of princes are in vain called thither from so many remote parts? Notwithstanding, I hear that now there are some men, not ill-affected, yet careless what they say, who, though they condemn the arrogancy and Persian pride of the pope, and his even

Epicurean contempt of religion, yet they desire that his authority should be maintained. Though they sometimes confess him to be antichrist, yet being mounted into that chair, they doubt not but that he is universal bishop, and head of the whole church of Christ. Here they triumph and please themselves, as if the Holy Ghost were affixed to the pope's palace. Yet the saying is, The place doth not sanctify the man, but the man the place. And Jerome, as he is cited by them, saith, They are not sons of the saints who hold their places, but who imitate their deeds. Likewise Christ telleth us, that the scribes and pharisees sit in Moses's chair, but warneth us not to allow of their authority further than they speak out of the word of God. Augustine saith, What said Christ but this; Hear the voice of the shepherd even by hirelings? For by sitting in the chair they teach the law of God; therefore God doth instruct us by them. But if they will teach aught of their own, hear them not, do it not. Likewise Paul saith, that antichrist, that man of sin, must sit in the temple. Jerome saith, Well, dost thou consider Peter? consider Judas also; dost thou allow of Stephen? mark also what Nicholas was.* Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian. Thus far Jerome. It is reported that pope Marcellinus sacrificed to idols; that pope Liberius was an Arian; that pope John XXII. had an impious opinion concerning the immortality of the soul; that pope John VIII. was a woman, that she committed adultery during her papacy, and going pompously in procession about the city, was delivered of a child, even in the very sight of the bishops and cardinals.† And Lyra affirms, that many popes have turned infidels. Wherefore we must not be too confident of places, and successions, and vain titles of dignities. Impious Nero succeeded pious Metellus. Annas and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron: and oftentimes idols are put in the place of God.

26. But what, I pray you, is this great power and authority, whereof they do so insolently boast? whence comes it? From heaven, or of men? Christ spake unto Peter, say they; Upon this rock I will build my church; by which words the pope's authority is confirmed. For the church of Christ is placed in Peter, as in the foundation. But Christ gave nothing to Peter by these words more than to the other apostles: neither doth he make mention of the pope, or of Rome. Christ is that rock; Christ is that foundation.

* Rev. ii. 6. † See p. 323.

No man, saith St. Paul, can lay another foundation than that which is already laid, which is Christ Jesus.

27. These words, Upon this rock I will build my church, St. Augustine expounds thus: "Upon this, it is to be understood, which Peter confessed, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. It is not said thou art the rock, but thou art Peter: the rock was Christ." St. Basil saith thus; "Upon this rock, that is, upon this faith, I will build my church." Origen, that most ancient father, saith that every disciple is a rock, after that he hath drunk of that spiritual rock that followed; and upon such a rock all the doctrine of the church is builded. But if thou think that the whole is built upon Peter only, what sayest thou of John the son of thunder, and of each of the apostles? For shall we be so bold as to say, the gates of hell shall not prevail against Peter only, and they shall prevail against the rest of the apostles; and against good men? Or shall we not rather say, Let that which is spoken, And the gates of hell shall not prevail against him; and that other, Upon this rock I will build my church, be true in every one of those of whom it was spoken? Were the keys of the kingdom given to Peter only, so that none of the other saints might meddle with them? Then if this saying, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, be common to others also, why are not the other sayings so too? St. Hilary saith, There is but one happy Rock of faith, which Peter confessed with his mouth. And again he saith, Upon this confession of Peter the church is built; and a little after he saith, This faith is the foundation of the church. In like manner other fathers, Jerome, Cyril, Bede, say that the church is built, not upon Peter, but upon his faith; that is, upon Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom Peter, by divine inspiration, confessed. Augustine saith, Peter takes his name from the rock, not the rock from Peter; neither will I, saith Christ, build myself upon thee, but I will build thee upon me. So also Nicholas Lyra, though he be not always a good author; for you know in what age he lived, saw thus much; Upon this rock, saith he, that is, upon Christ.* By this it appears, that the church cannot rely wholly upon any man, by reason of any power, or ecclesiastical dignity, because many popes are known to have been apostates.

28. Why then, wherein doth this papal authority consist?

* Lyra was a learned Franciscan of the fourteenth century. He wrote a voluminous commentary on the Bible, then much esteemed.

In teaching? They teach not at all. In administering the sacraments? They administer them not. In feeding? They do it not. Yet this is the power which Christ bestowed on his apostles. Go, saith he, into the whole world, and preach the gospel. And afterwards, Ye shall be fishers of men. And, as the living Father sent me, so send I you. But these men, whither go they? What do they teach, or preach, or fish for? From whence go they, or by whom are they sent? This is not apostolical authority, but a proud, intolerable domination, usurped by force and tyranny. None of us, saith Cyprian, calls himself bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical fear compels his colleagues to any necessary obedience, since every bishop may use his liberty and power according to his own discretion, without being judged by any, seeing that he himself judgeth no man. Again he saith, The other apostles were that which Peter was, and had the same fellowship of honour, and power. St. Jerome saith, The authority of the world is greater than that of one city. Why do you extol the custom of one city? Why do you make a paucity, whence pride began, to give laws to the church? Wheresoever any bishop is, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same desert and priesthood. The strength of riches, or humbleness of poverty makes a bishop neither greater nor less. Gregory saith, Peter is the chief member in the body; John, Andrew, James, are heads of the particular people; yet all of them are members of the church under one head. Nay, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under the gospel, and all that make up the body of the Lord, are to be accounted members, and none was ever willing to be called universal.

29. This is that power which some do so strenuously defend at this day, which, whatsoever they think of the pope's life and religion, they would have to be most religiously maintained, as if the church of God could not subsist without it; or as if a council were no council except the pope did will and command it to be so; or as if the whole world must needs be deceived, if it should think otherwise. Wherefore, now that you see all things are most unjustly handled, that nothing is sincerely and fairly carried in councils, you may not wonder that our own men had rather tarry at home, than take so long and so idle a journey, in which they shall both lose their labour, and betray their cause.

30. You will say, it is not lawful to make changes in

religion without order from the pope and the council. Yet the popes have changed almost the whole state of the primitive church without any council at all. You use a fair smooth speech, but it is to cover foul errors. The purpose is only to keep men's minds in expectation, that being wearied with tedious delays, they may at the last despair of any good. For what? While the pope assembles a council, while the bishops and abbots return home, will they have God's people, in the mean while, to be deceived, to err, to mistake themselves, to be overwhelmed with errors, and want of the knowledge of God, and so to be carried to everlasting destruction? Is it not lawful for any of us to believe in Christ, to profess the gospel, to serve God aright, to fly superstition and idolatry, except they will be pleased to give us leave? The state of God's children were most miserable, if, there being so many errors, so generally spread, so gross, so blind, so foul, and so perspicuous and manifest, that even our adversaries themselves are not able to deny them, nothing could be done unless the whole world should meet in a general council; the expectation whereof is very uncertain, and the event much more. In times past, when the Persians invaded Greece, and began to lay all waste, if then the Lacedemonians, whose valour was most eminent amongst the Grecians, whose help was requisite as soon as might be, had expected a more seasonable moon to make war in, for it was an ancient superstition, which proceeded from Lycurgus, not to go forth to fight but in a full moon, their country might have been spoiled whilst they deferred the time. They say, delay breeds danger. The safety of God's church is in question; the devil goeth about, roaring like a lion, seeking whom he may devour. Simple men are easily deceived; and though they are often touched with a zeal towards God, yet they persecute the Son of God before they are aware; and, as Nazianzen saith, when they purpose to fight for Christ, they fight against him. Nay the bishops themselves, who ought to have a care of these things, are, as though they were but mere ghosts, careless of them; or, to speak truth, they increase the error, and make the mist that is in their religion twice as great as it was. Must we therefore sit idle, expecting how these fathers will handle the matter? Must we fold our hands together and do nothing? Nay, saith Cyprian, there is but one bishopric, of which every one holdeth an entire part, whereof he is to give account to the Lord. I will require, saith the Lord,

their blood at thy hands. If any shall put his hand to the plough and look back, and be solicitous what others think, and expect the authority of a general council, and hide the Lord's treasure, in the mean while, he shall hear this, O evil and faithless servant! take him away, and cast him into outward darkness. Suffer, saith Christ, the dead to bury their dead, but come thou and follow me. The truth of God depends not upon men. In human councils indeed, it is the part of a wise man to expect the judgment and consent of men; but in divine matters, God's word is all in all. The which so soon as a godly man hath received, he presently yields and submits himself. He is not wavering, nor expects others. He understands that he is not bound to give ear to the popes, or the council, but to the will of God, whose voice is to be obeyed, though all men say nay. The prophet Elijah presently obeyed God's command, though he thought he was alone. Abraham being warned of God, went out of Chaldea. Lot went out of Sodom. The three Israelites made a public confession of their religion, and publicly detested idolatry, without expecting a general council. Go, saith the angel, out of the midst of her and partake not of her sins, lest you taste of her plagues, Rev. xviii. 4. He saith not, expect a synod of bishops. So God's truth was first published, and so it is now to be restored. The apostles first taught the gospel without a public council; in like manner the same gospel may be restored again without a public council. If at the first, Christ and his apostles would have tarried, and deferred all until a general council, when had their sound gone forth into all lands? How had the kingdom of heaven suffered violence? And how had the violent taken it by force? Where now would the gospel, and the church of God have been? As for our parts, we do not fear and flee, but desire and wish for a council, so that it be free; that it be ingenuous; that it be Christian; so that men do meet as the apostles did; so that abbots and bishops be freed from their oath by which they are bound to the popes; so that, that whole conspiracy be dissolved; so that our men may be modestly and freely heard, and not condemned before they be heard: so that one man may not have power to overthrow whatsoever is done. But seeing it is impossible, as the times now are, that this should be obtained; and seeing that all absurd things, foolish, ridiculous, superstitious, impious things, are defended most pertinaciously, and that for custom sake, because they have

been once received, we have thought it fit to provide for our churches by a national council.

31. For we know that the Spirit of God, is tied neither to places, nor to numbers of men. Tell it to the church, saith Christ. Not to the whole church spread over the world, but to a particular church, which may easily meet in one place. Wheresoever, saith he, two or three shall be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. When Paul would reform the churches of the Corinthians, and of the Galatians, he did not command them to expect a general council; but only wrote unto them, that what error soever or vice was amongst them, themselves should presently cut off. So in times past, when bishops did sleep, or intended by-matters, or did defile and pollute the Lord's temple, God always extraordinarily raised up some men of great spirit and courage, who made all well and sound again.

32. For ourselves, we have done nothing but with very good reason; nothing but what we saw to be lawful, and to have been practised by the fathers of the primitive church, without any reprehension at all. Wherefore we called a full synod of bishops, and, by common consent of all ranks, purged our church, as it were the stable of Augeus, of that filth, which either the negligence or malice of men had brought in. We have restored all things, as much as we could do, to the ancient purity of the apostolical times, and the similitude of the primitive church. This was rightfully in our power to do, and because we could do it, we did it boldly.

33. Here I think it fit that you should hear what pope Gregory I. wrote concerning this matter; which pleases me the more, because he wrote it to Augustine, bishop of the English, about the institution of the English churches. He exhorts him not to call a council, but to ordain that which he himself in his own wisdom did think would most promote piety and religion. "Your brotherhood," saith he, "knoweth the custom of the Roman church, in which you have been brought up. It pleases me to hear, that you have been careful to make choice of as many things as you can find acceptable to God, either in the church of Rome, France, or of any other, that you may bring them into the English church, which is as yet but new in faith, and as it were but now to be framed. For things are not to be valued because of the place where they

are found, but places are to be valued for the things that are in them."

34. So the fathers in the council of Constantinople wrote to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and to the other western bishops: You know, said they, that the old decree, and definition of the Nicene fathers concerning the care of particular churches, hath always been in force; that the husbandmen of the Lord's vineyard in every province, taking their next bordering neighbours unto them if they please, should bestow ecclesiastical honours upon those who they think will use them well. The bishops of Africa wrote thus to Celestine, bishop of Rome; "Let your holiness, as becomes you, take away all wicked evasions of priests, and inferior clergymen, because none of the fathers have denied this to the church of Africa. And the decrees of the Nicene council do most plainly refer, not only the clergy of lower rank, but even the bishops themselves, to their metropolitans. For matters of business are best ended in the places where they are begun, neither is the grace of the Holy Spirit wanting unto any province. Let this equity be wisely observed, and constantly maintained by the ministers of Christ."

35. Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, writes to Lucius, king of Britain, much better, and more appositely to our present purpose. "You have," saith he, "desired, that we should send you the laws of the Romans, and of the emperors, that you may make use of them in the kingdom of Britain. These laws we may abrogate when we will, but the laws of God we cannot. You have received, by God's mercy, into your kingdom of Britain the law and faith of Christ; you have there the Old and the New Testament. From them take, through the grace of God, laws by a council of your own kingdom, and, God permitting you, instruct your kingdom of Britain by them. Truly you are God's vicar in that kingdom; according to that of the psalmist, The earth is the Lord's."

36. What should I say more? Victor, bishop of Rome, held a provincial synod at Rome. Justinian the emperor commands that synods, if there were occasion, should be held in every province; protesting to punish them, if they did not do it. Every province, saith Jerome, hath peculiar manners, and rites, and conceits, which cannot be altered without a great deal of trouble. What should I repeat of those old provincial councils at Eliberis, Gangra, Laodicea, Ancyra, Antioch, Tours, Carthage, Milevitum, Toledo, and Bordeaux? This is no new invention. The church of God

was so governed before the fathers met in the Nicene council; men did not hastily run to a general council. Theophilus held a provincial council in Palestine; Palmas in Pontus; Irenæus in France; Bacchylus in Achaia; Origen against Berillus in Arabia. I omit many other national councils held in Africa, Asia, Greece, and Egypt, without any order from the bishop of Rome; which councils were godly, orthodox, and Christian. For bishops in those times upon the sudden, if any occasion had been offered, provided for the necessity of their churches by a domestic council, and sometimes craved aid from neighbouring bishops; so that they mutually helped one the other. Neither did bishops only believe, that the cause of religion belonged to them, but even princes too. For to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded upon pain of death, that the name of the God of Israel should not be blasphemed; to omit David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, who partly built, partly purged the temple of the Lord, Constantine the emperor put down idolatry without a council, and made a most severe edict, that it should be a capital crime to sacrifice to idols. Theodosius the emperor caused the temples of the heathen gods to be pulled to the very ground. Jovinian, so soon as he was created emperor, made his first law for the restoring of banished Christians. Justinian the emperor was wont to say, that he had no less care of Christian religion, than of his own life. When Joshua was made ruler of the people, he immediately received command concerning religion, and the worship of God. For princes are nursing fathers of the church, and keepers of both tables. Neither is there any greater cause that hath moved God to erect political states, than that always there might be some to maintain and preserve religion and piety.

37. Princes therefore now-a-days do more grievously offend, who indeed are called Christians, but sit idly, follow their pleasures, and patiently suffer impious worships and contempt of God; leaving all unto their bishops, whom they know to make but a mock of religion: as if the care of the church and of God's people, belonged not to them; or as if they were only pastors of sheep and oxen, as it were, to be careful of their bodies and neglect their souls. They remember not that they are God's servants, chosen on purpose to serve him. Hezekiah went not into his own house, before he saw God's temple purified. King David said, I will not give any sleep unto mine eyes, nor suffer mine

eye-lids to slumber, until I have found a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob.

O that Christian princes would hear the voice of the Lord! Now, saith the Lord, understand O ye kings, and learn ye that are judges of the earth; I have said ye are gods; that is, men chosen by God to honour his name. Thou whom I have raised out of the dust, and placed in the highest degree of dignity and honour, and set thee over my people, when thou art so careful to build and adorn thine own house, dost thou think with thyself how thou canst contemn mine house? Or how dost thou pray daily, that thy kingdom may be confirmed to thee and thy posterity? Is it that my name may be contemned? That the gospel of my Christ may be put down? That my servants, for my sake, may be slain before thine eyes? That tyranny may be further spread, my people always deceived, and scandal confirmed by thee? Woe unto him by whom scandal cometh: Woe also unto him by whom it is confirmed. Thou abhorrest material blood: how much more the blood of souls? Thou rememberest what happened to Antiochus, Herod, and Julian. I will give thy kingdom to thine enemy, because thou hast sinned against me. I change times and seasons. I put down and raise up kings; that thou mayest understand, that I am the Most High; that I have power over the kingdom of men, and give it to whom I will. I bring low, and I exalt. I glorify them that glorify me, and put to shame those that despise me.

SERMONS.

Romans xiii.

Verse 12. *The night is past, and the day is at hand; let us cast away the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.*

This little portion of the Scripture has been often expounded and opened in your hearing, yet shall it not be unprofitable once again to treat thereof. For albeit the proportion and ground of matter be one, yet some difference may be in the manner of utterance.

The word of God is the water of life; the more you lave it forth,* the fresher it runneth; it is the fire of God's glory, the more you blow it, the clearer it burneth; it is the corn of the Lord's field, the better you grind it, the more it yieldeth; it is the bread of heaven, the more it is broken and given forth, the more remaineth; it is the sword of the Spirit, the more it is scoured, the brighter it shineth. The voice of God cannot be unpleasant to their ears who are the children of God; the oftener they hear it, the more comfort they receive; they can never have overmuch, who never have enough.

St. Paul in these words stirred up the Romans, and awaked them out of the slumber of death, that they might behold the clear light of the gospel, and know the time of their visitation, and shake off the works of darkness, and apparel themselves with the righteousness of Christ our Saviour.

But before I proceed further to declare that which is to be spoken at this present, let us turn our hearts to God, even the Father of lights, that it may please him to open the eyes of our understanding, and to direct all our doings to his glory, &c.

* Draw it out, or pour it forth.

In worldly business, it is reckoned a great point of wisdom to do things in due time, and to choose the fittest season to speak or to hold silence, to buy or to sell, to build or to pull down. Solomon therefore said, Eccles. iii. To all things there is an appointed time, and a time to every purpose under the heaven. Whoso does not weigh the season, and take his convenient time, he is unwise, and defeats himself, and bewrays his folly.

But of all wisdom this is the greatest, that a man lift up his eyes to the throne of God's mercy, and know the time of his blessing, and direct his life to the service of God, as he warneth, Eccles. v. Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day; for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord break forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed. If the good man of the house were wise, if he knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and stand in readiness, and not suffer his house to be digged through.

Of this wisdom, in taking the advantage of time, spake the prophet David, Psal. xciv. This day, if you hear his voice, harden not your hearts. Foreslow* not the time, lose not this good occasion, hear his voice now, this day. Of this wisdom spake St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. We, as workers together, beseech you, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee. Behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of salvation.

Whoso knoweth not this time, is not wise. Of this blindness and heaviness of the people, God complaineth in many places of the prophets. In the eighth chapter of Jeremiah, Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people knoweth not the judgment of the Lord.

Of this their blindness and folly, our Saviour reproved Jerusalem, Luke xix. Oh! if thou hadst, even now at the least in this thy day, known those things which belong unto thy peace; but now are they hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall make thee even with the ground, and thy children which are within thee; and they shall not

* Delay.

leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

Therefore the apostle calls upon the Romans, tells them that the sun is up, and the day open, and warns them not to lose the season; For now, even now, saith he, it is time to rise.

That we may the better discern the light, let us behold the darkness of that time which was before.—The whole world was divided into the people of the Jews and the heathens; and besides these there were no other people; the heathens were forsaken of God, the Jews were his chosen people.

The heathens worshipped the works of their own hands, and gave the glory of God unto creatures which are not God. They went after idols even as they were led; they had many gods, according to the number of their cities; they delivered up themselves to all manner of filthiness. God gave them over to follow their lusts. The fathers among them slew their own children, and offered them up in sacrifice to devils. So strongly did the prince of darkness possess them; they had not the ark of the testimony; they lived without prophets, or covenant, or Christ, or God; they lived without hope, or light, or comfort. In such a night, and such a darkness, lay the heathen.

The Jews, God's chosen people, they were also bereft of knowledge; there was no prophet left among them, nor any to teach them the will of the Lord. The law perished from the priest, and counsel from the ancient; light was turned into darkness, and judgment into wormwood; they were bitter and grievous to the poor; they slew the prophets which were sent unto them; they forsook the fountain of living waters, and followed Baal and Ashtaroth. Like people, like priests; from the sole of the foot unto the head, there was nothing whole in them. Of them God spake by the prophets, Mal. i. I have no pleasure in you, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. Of them he said, Isa. i. When you shall stretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; and though you make many prayers, I will not hear you. In such a darkness lay the Jews, in such a darkness lay the gentiles. All had sinned; they were all corrupt and abominable in their ways; they were the children of wrath and the vessels of destruction. So were they wrapt in the cloud of ignorance, and covered

in the shadow of death. Such was the night St. Paul spake of, so ugly, so dark, so void of comfort.

But God gave forth his light to shine upon them; he sent the patriarchs, and prophets, and holy fathers; he sent unto them Moses and Aaron, and angels from heaven, to give out sparks of this light. He made it appear by his prophet Isaiah, chap. vii. Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and she shall call his name Emmanuel. In him shall all Israel be saved; he is the Light to lighten the gentiles; his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; in him shall all the ends of the world be blessed. This light they beheld, when it was not clearly opened unto them; they saw it coming, and rejoiced in it; they were under a schoolmaster, and had not the perfect knowledge of this light.

But now God hath scattered all these clouds, and we behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face. Our elder fathers in the old testament had only a dim candle to guide their feet, we have the bright sun-beams; they had only the green blade of the corn, we have the plentiful increase, even as in the time of harvest; they had the shadow, we have the light; they had only a drop to refresh themselves, we have the whole stream of God's mercy poured out upon us.

Now hath God remembered his holy covenant, and the oath which he sware to our father Abraham; now the Word was made flesh, and dwelt with us, the day-star is sprung up in our hearts, the Spirit of God hath filled the whole world, the earth is full of his glory. The idols of the heathen are fallen, and are put to silence; their greatest mysteries appear to be follies, and are laughed to scorn; the children make game of them in their streets. Satan, the prince of this world, who is the accuser of our brethren, is now cast forth.

Now is it known that salvation, and power, and glory belongeth to our God; he hath raised his Christ, and hath established his kingdom; the kings and nations of the world shall walk in his light, and his light shall not be put out, and his kingdom shall have no end.

Now is that New Jerusalem, the glorious city of our God, revealed from on high; now hath God made the heavens new, and a new earth, and hath fixed his tabernacle

and dwelling-place among men. The fulness of time is come, the sound of the apostles is gone through all the earth, the Sun of righteousness hath appeared, he is the light and comfort of the whole world. This is the gracious year of mercy, this is the day which the Lord hath made.

Now is the mercy of the Lord showed more and more towards us, and his truth endureth for ever. When Balaam the false prophet beheld the glory of this time, he brake out and said, Numb. xxiv. Who shall live when God doeth this? who shall live, and see, and enjoy these things?

Awake, therefore, or arise from sleep, the time so requireth. For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed it. Of these few words have grown divers senses, all good and godly; yet in my judgment the simplest and plainest sense is this: when we were heathen, and sat in darkness, we thought we did well, and that we should be saved in that way in which we walked, and that there was no hope of salvation, but only in that, and we had a great liking in our doings. This is the vanity and misery of man; oftentimes where he thinks himself most sure, he is deeply deceived.

The Turks and the Jews at this day, and others the enemies of the cross of Christ, think there is no other true religion but theirs; and in that they are wonderfully zealous, and stand in it unto death; no persuasion nor force can remove them.

When the people of Ephesus heard of the preaching of Paul, they raised an uproar, and filled the city full of tumult; they caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, and Paul's companions in his journey, and would have slain them; they made an outcry, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Acts xix. She is a goddess, she hath made heaven and earth, we have put our trust in her, we will call upon her, and she will hear us.

Christ showeth his disciples, Matt. x. The brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause them to die; and ye shall be hated of all men for my name. For zeal to their God, the priests of Baal cut themselves with knives and lancets. 1 Kings xviii. Through zeal, many fathers slew their own children, and burnt them quick in fire, in honour of the idol Moloch.

The Circumcelliones, who were a sort of heretics sprung out of the Donatists about 420 years after Christ, through zeal murdered one another; they threw themselves down from high rocks, and destroyed themselves, and thought that the only way to please God; so hot and fervent was their devotion. The children of light have seldom suffered more, or more willingly, or with more affiance, than the children of darkness; so strove they for God, but against God; and abused his name against himself, and wittingly and willingly went down into hell. They had great zeal and earnest desire of the glory of God, but not according to knowledge; they contented themselves with what they had received of their fathers, and would seek no further; they thought they did serve God, but they blasphemed the name of the Son of God. In such sort did God suffer them to walk in the blindness of their heart.

In the latter day many shall say unto Christ, Lord, Lord, have we not by thy name prophesied, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name done many great works? Matt. vii. We have prayed, and given alms for thy sake; was it not done out of zeal and devotion towards thee? So well shall they be persuaded of their doings, they shall press boldly to the throne of God's majesty, and require their meed. But Christ shall answer them, I never knew you, you served your fancy, you served not me; your alms, and miracles, and your prayers shall condemn you. Therefore Christ said to the woman of Samaria, Ye worship that which you know not, John iv. You are led with a zeal, and follow your fathers, but are deceived. Even so he prayed his Father for them that crucified him, and stood by, and reviled him. O Father, thou art full of mercy, forgive them, they are moved with zeal, and think they please thee; they know not what they do; they know not thee, nor me thy Son, whom thou hast sent.

Jerome saith, "Infidelity hath been written under the name of faith and unity." For herein they thought themselves good and holy, and catholic, if they departed not from the unity of the world. Therefore they followed the general consent of others; they thought themselves, saith he, the true church, and seemed to follow unity, though indeed they fell to infidelity. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, Rom. xiv. whatsoever it be, be it ever so holy, ever so glorious, it is sin, it displeases God, the end thereof is destruction.

Therefore Christ saith, John viii. I am the Light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. So spake almighty God to his people, Deut. v. Take heed that you do as the Lord your God hath commanded you; turn not aside to the right hand nor to the left. Thou shalt not do the thing that seemeth right in thine own eyes; thou shalt not follow the zeal of thine own heart.

Think that thou mayest be deceived; dispose thyself to hearken to the voice of the Lord; whatsoever he shall command thee, that only shalt thou do. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts. Isa. lv. The will of the Lord is the only measure whereby all truth must be tried.

Hereunto the prophet David humbled himself, and spake unto God in this manner: Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, O teach me to do thy will, teach me to follow it, and to practise it. Hereof St. Paul speaketh, Eph. v. Understand what the will of the Lord is. Leave the pretence of zeal, leave the devotion of your own heart, rest not upon the will of your forefathers, nor of flesh and blood. Learn to feel and taste the will of God; it is good, and gracious, and merciful; thereby direct your steps, therein shall you find the possession of life.

We were drowned in darkness, saith the apostle, yet thought we had the light. I myself, saith he, was a blasphemer, and did persecute the church of God; I followed the way of my fathers, I had a great zeal, and thought I did well; but the way wherein I walked was slippery, the light was darkness, I delighted in vanity, and had pleasure in leasings; I was blind yet perceived it not, and therefore was my blindness and misery so much the more.

But now is our salvation come near unto us; our bodies are made the temples of God, and his Spirit dwelleth within us. We have the word of life put both in our mouth and in our heart; the kingdom of God is in the midst among us. The Son of God calleth unto us, Come unto me all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and I will refresh you. St. John saith, We have looked upon, and our hands have handled the word of life, 1 John i.

And again, The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory thereof as the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth, John i. So near is the Lord to them that seek him, so near unto us is our salvation.

When David heard the voice of the Lord, he awaked and rose up, he gave thanks unto God, and poured out his heart before him, saying, O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world! And again, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name.

When the apostles heard this voice of the Lord, they were awaked, thy forsook all they had, they took up their cross, and went over all the world preaching the gospel of salvation. When Paul heard the voice of Christ from heaven above, he fell on the earth, and, being astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou that I do? I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid; make me to do that thou commandest me to do.

Then could neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, separate Paul from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; then he esteemed not to know any thing, saving Jesus Christ, and him crucified. He brake his sleep, rose up, and went forward.

In like manner the prophet Isaiah stirred up Jerusalem: Arise, be bright, for the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee, Isa. lx. Know thy time, and the day of thy visitation; awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, for the Son of God has shined over thee.

The apostle therefore saith, It is now time that we should rise from sleep. We are the children of God, we are the children of the truth, we are the sons of the prophets, we are they whom God hath chosen out of the world. Whosoever putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is unmeet for the kingdom of heaven.

These things are sent for our understanding. God hath given his word unto us; we have seen the works of God, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to go, the dead to rise and come out of their graves, the sun to be darkened, the earth to quake, the rocks

to rend, and the devil to confess the Son of God; for he was forced to say, Thou art Christ, the Son of God. Now doth the kingdom of heaven suffer violence.

The night is passed, the day is at hand; we have slumbered enough in ignorance, it is now time we know the blessings which God hath bestowed upon us; it is time we should be thankful, and awake out of the sleep of forgetfulness, that we humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and dream no more of our own strength. Our conscience is charged; we cannot plead ignorance; it is time that we rise; the mercy of God, the abundance of his blessing, the fear of his judgment, the regard of our salvation, so require.

Let us cast away the works of darkness; they are unfruitful, loathsome, and horrible; they darken the heart, and blind the conscience; he that doeth them shall be cast into utter darkness. Let us be afraid, let us be ashamed hereof; such things are not fit for the children of light.

Let us put on the armour of light. God hath chosen us to be his soldiers, and hath called us forth into the field. Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against the devil, the prince of this world, and the father of darkness: he rampeth like a lion, and lieth in wait, and seeketh whom he may devour. All the vanities of this life, our bodies, our own hearts, conspire against us; the fight is terrible, the danger is great. Let us not be unprovided, let us not stand open to the stroke of the enemy.

Let us take unto us the whole armour of God; let our loins be girded with verity; let us put on the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, the sword of the Spirit, and the helmet of salvation. These are the weapons of righteousness, these are the armour of light. Let us not fear to declare the truth, though thereby we should endanger our life.

Let us be faithful unto the end; let it appear that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down holds, and imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against God. So shall our armour be complete; so shall we show glorious in the field, and be terrible to the enemy; so shall we stand strong and boldly, against sword, and fire, and death; so shall we, like faithful soldiers of our captain Christ, manfully stand against the gates of hell, and resist all the assaults, and quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; then shall we eat of the fruit

in the midst of paradise, and shall receive the crown of everlasting glory.

Let us walk honestly, as in the day, not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying. The apostle setteth down three things as three botches and carbuncles of the soul; they oppress the body, defile the mind, and break the bond and unity of the church of God.

The first is gluttony and drunkenness, the root and mother of all evil; nothing is safe, where wine prevails. This was the iniquity of Sodom, abundance and fulness of bread; they abused the gifts of God, to the dishonour of God. This was the cause of all her filthiness, and her filthiness was the cause of her destruction.

Hereof God speaketh, Deut. xxxii. My chosen people, my beloved, is waxed fat; therefore he forsook God that made him, and regarded not the strong God of his salvation. And again, by the prophet Isaiah, chap. v. The harp and viol, timbrel and pipe, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the work of his hands. And in the twenty-first chapter, Behold, joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine,—eating and drinking, for to-morrow we shall die. So through gluttony and drunkenness they despised the threatenings of God, and entered not into the way of repentance, but continued in their sins, and made scorn of the prophets of God.

The people of Israel sat them down to eat and drink, and rose up to play, Exod. xxxii. They forgot God, and the mercies he had showed upon them, and worshipped a golden calf—so gross and so deadly are the clouds of drunkenness. Our Saviour Christ saith, towards the latter day the people shall eat and drink, and be void of care, as in the days of Noah, and destruction shall suddenly fall upon them; therefore Christ saith, Luke vi. Wo be to you that are full, for you shall hunger.

Many have been slain in the fields, but many more have taken their deadly wound by surfeiting; many have been drowned in the sea, but many more have perished by the strength of wine. It is not set down, that the rich glutton was an oppressor, an extortioner, a usurer, or that he came unjustly by his goods; but that he abused the same, that he fared deliciously, and became unthankful, and therefore was punished in hell fire. Then he which before had abundance,

and did swim in wine, had not one drop to quench his thirst.

Many make their belly their God; they have more comfort in the taste of sweet fare than in the consideration of the works of God; their table is turned into a snare, their glory is to their shame. Here will I speak nothing of gluttony and quaffing. God keep it far from Christian tables; it is too, too wild and barbarous; the heathens hate it; nature abhors it; the horse and mule would not use it.

St. Augustine saith, A drunken man doth not commit sin, but he is altogether sin. And therefore his reward is death. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. vi. Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God; they shall drink the cup of the wine of the Lord's wrath. Therefore Christ saith, Luke xxi. Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life; and lest that day come on you at unawares. Therefore saith the apostle, Let us not walk in eating and gluttony; it will drown our senses, it will oppress our nature.

The kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink; our meat is to do the will of our Father. Let us not abuse the creatures of God. Let us eat and drink, that we may live, only to the sustenance of our bodies; that we, by the moderate and sober use of those things, may be the better able to follow and please God in our vocation. The meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats; but God shall destroy both it and them.

Let us think of the cup which Christ had on the cross; his cup was eisel,* and tempered with gall; at his hand let us take the cup of thanksgiving, and call upon the name of the Lord. Let us, whether we eat or drink, remember who it is that hath bestowed his gifts upon us; and whatsoever we do, let us do it to the glory of God.

Another botch and carbuncle is chambering and wantonness. Of this also the apostle warns us; for adulterers and fornicators God shall judge; they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death; the Lord is the avenger of all such. It is the will of God, that our bodies be kept in holiness; they are the temples of God; he hath called us to be vessels of honour, that we should be holy in body, and holy in

* Vinegar, verjuice.

spirit; that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

The last is strife and envying. We are one body in Christ Jesus, we are endued with one spirit, we are members one of another. The gospel of Christ is the gospel of peace; he hath broken the stop of the partition-wall; he hath set all things at peace. He hath taught us, Learn of me, for I am humble and meek.—Let us not, saith Paul, Gal. v. be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

Let not one of you say, I am Paul's; and another, I am of Apollos—the body of Christ is one, it is not divided. If you bite and devour one another, take heed lest you consume one another. If there be envying, and strife, and dissensions among you, you are yet carnal, you savour not of the Spirit of God. You are but a little flock, the world hateth you; join together, love one another, bear you one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. Love suffereth long, and is bountiful; love envieth not, love doth not boast itself; it is not puffed up; it disdains not; it seeketh not her own things; it is not provoked to anger; it thinketh not evil; it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; it suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth all things; love is the bond of perfection.

The servant of Christ is not quarrellous. Let us keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; let not dissension or malice trouble our hearts; let us walk after this manner, and so let us glorify God in our mortal bodies; let us avoid these things, gluttony, drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife and envying; they are the unfruitful works of darkness, the way of them leadeth unto damnation.

But put you on the Lord Jesus Christ. If we behold ourselves, and consider our own nakedness, we shall find, that by nature we are nothing else but the children of wrath. Who can call that clean, which is conceived of unclean seed? David saith, Behold, I am conceived in sin, my sins have gone over my head, there is no health in my flesh. None that liveth shall be justified in thy sight. Who can understand his faults? Cleanse thou me from my secret faults.

Job saith, I stood in fear of all my works, knowing that thou wilt not judge me innocent. Again, The stars are unclean in his sight; how much more man, a worm, even the son of man, which is but a worm! Job ix. xxv. In like sort, saith Isaiah, We have all been as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness is as filthy rags. Our virtue, our holiness, our fasting, our prayers, are filthy, when they come to his sight. We cannot say our heart is clean; we cannot say we have not sinned.

God hath shut up all in unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; the spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit. Open shame belongs unto us, and to our fathers. Cursed is he that abideth not in all things that are written in the book of the law; and whosoever offendeth in one, is made guilty of all the commandments.

When the miserable and wretched soul boasts itself, saying, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing, the Spirit of God maketh answer, Thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Thou hast nothing to put upon thee to cover thy shame; I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried by the fire, that thou mayest be rich, and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that thy filthy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve that thou mayest see, Rev. iii.

The same Spirit in the apostle giveth his counsel, that we put on us Jesus Christ. Let him cover us with his body, and with his blood, as with a garment; his blood hath cleansed us from all our sins; he is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; he is become unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.

St. Jerome saith, "If we weigh our own deservings, if we appear in our own apparel, we must despair." And Basil saith, "He that trusts not to good deeds, nor hopes to be justified by his works, has no other hope of salvation but by the mercies of the Lord."

Let us therefore put on us Jesus Christ; let us cover us under his apparel, as Jacob covered himself under the coat of his brother Esau, and so let us present ourselves before our heavenly Father. The phrase of putting on is usual, whereby the apostle means, we must be wholly clad, and possessed with Christ.

In like phrase it is said, in the twelfth of Revelation, There appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun. And in Psalm civ. My soul praise thou the Lord. O my God, thou art exceeding great, thou art clothed with glory and honour. And, Which covereth himself with light as with a garment. And, Col. iii. Put on tender mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering. Chrysostom saith, "Behold, he gives us Christ, to be put on as a garment, which is a heinous thing to be spoken." It passes all sense of nature; it passes the judgment of flesh and blood. Here remember, these words may not be taken, as if Christ were a material and earthly coat, made of cloth to cover our bodies; they are spiritual words, and have a spiritual understanding. Chrysostom saith, "Christ is become all things for thee, thy table, thy garment, thy house, thy head, and thy root." Origen saith, "The word of God is called flesh, and bread, and milk, and herbs." Nazianzen also saith, "After the same manner as our Lord Jesus Christ is called the life, the way, the bread, the vine, the true light, and a thousand things else, so is he also called the sword."

He is spiritually a table, a garment, a house, a root, a head, flesh, milk, herbs, the way, the light, a sword, bread, or drink. We dwell in him spiritually; we are clothed with him spiritually; we grow out of him, and walk upon him, and are made one with him; even members of his body spiritually. We do spiritually eat him and drink him; we live by him spiritually; we eat him by hearing, and digest him by faith. Origen saith, "He is called the Bread of life, that the soul may have whereon to feed."

O brethren! O that we had senses to feel this food, that we could savour of the Bread of life, and taste and see how sweet the Lord is! He that thus tasteth of this bread, shall live for ever.

Chrysostom saith, "We thrust our teeth into the flesh of Christ." And Cyprian, "We fasten our tongue within the wounds of our Redeemer." These are vehement and spiritual kind of speeches, to raise up our senses, and to teach us to feel the unspeakable sweetness of this heavenly feeding.

Likewise said Bernard, "I desire to behold whole Christ, and to touch him, and not so only, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door that was made in the side of the ark, that I may enter wholly, and go in, even

unto the heart of Jesus." Thus are we taught to lift up our hearts, and to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.

Why should we then follow the fleshly error of the Capernaites? why should we be so insensible in heavenly things? Let us have some feeling hereof in our heart. Solomon saith, Eccles. ii. The wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness. Our Saviour therefore saith, John vi. The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life. To eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, is not the part of the body, it is rather a work of our mind.

And therefore Ambrose saith, "We touch not Christ by bodily touching, but we touch him by faith." And again, "Stephen, being in the earth, touched Christ, being in heaven." By faith therefore we eat Christ, and by faith we drink Christ; by faith we are apparelled and clothed with Christ. And this is what the apostle saith, Rom. xiii. Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ. Let us be incorporate in him; let God see nothing in us but the image of his Son, so shall he dwell in us, and we in him.

Take no thought for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof. The sons of God rest upon the providence of God their Father; he giveth them water out of the rocks; he raineth down bread from heaven; he openeth his hands, and filleth every living thing with his blessing. The prophet saith, Psal. xxiii. The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. The things of this world shall have an end; they fade away. and will not continue. If riches abound, we must not set our heart upon them, but rather be careful for the life to come. We must seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, then all these things shall be ministered unto us.

He doth not forbid honest and moderate forecast and provision, as if it were not lawful for Christians to deal in matters appertaining to the good estate of this life; for he hath said unto Timothy, 1 Tim. v. If there be any that provideth not for his own, and namely, for them of his household, he denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel. Again he saith, Eph. v. No man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it, and cherisheth it. Again, writing to Timothy, Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities.

In which speeches he shows that we are bound to nourish, and feed, and be careful for our bodies.

Though the conversation of the faithful be in heaven, and they seek after the things which are on high, yet while they pass the pilgrimage of this life, they must needs have the fellowship and company of their natural bodies; which they must not so weaken, that thereby they shall become unprofitable, and not able to do service in the church of God, and yet so keep them under, that they may be made obedient to the spirit.

Only we may not be over-careful. To take great care for the body, is to cast away all care for the soul. For, They that will be rich, fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction; for the desire of money is the root of all evil, which while some lusted after, they erred from the faith, and pierced themselves with many sorrows, 1 Tim. vi. Of this care our Saviour speaks, Matt. xix. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

No care can satisfy the uncontented mind. The righteous eateth, and is satisfied; but the belly of the wicked ever wanteth, Prov. xiii. He hath enlarged his desire as hell, and ladeth himself with thick clay; he increaseth that which is not his, and cannot be satisfied. The horse-leech hath two daughters, which cry, Give, give. There are three things that will not be satisfied; yea, four, that say not, It is enough, Prov. xxx.

They care not by what means they make their gains; they live in usury, a most filthy trade, a trade which God detesteth, a trade which is the very overthrow of all Christian love; they eat up the people as they eat bread. Such are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain. He would take away the life of the owners thereof, Prov. i. They have hardened their heart against God, they do not serve God, but mammon.

But their gain shall be to their loss, and their money to their destruction. He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not dwell in the tabernacle of the Lord, nor rest upon his holy mountain.

We have here no continuing city; we are strangers, as were all our fathers before us. If we gather riches to ourselves, and are not rich in God, he shall say unto us, O fool, this night will they fetch away thy soul from thee.

Then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? Let him therefore that hath this world's goods, be as if he had them not. They are the gifts of God. The Lord giveth them, and the Lord taketh them away.

Settle not your hearts upon them; as they come, so will they fade away; they are uncertain; they will deceive you. Set your desire upon heavenly things; seek after the life which is to come in the land of the living. When we shall see those unspeakable joys, we shall perceive that all the pleasures of this life, in comparison of them, were nothing.

Now somewhat more especially to apply the words of the apostle to this present time, It is now time also that we should arise from sleep. God hath delivered us also from the night. We may say, This is the day which the Lord hath made. Let us rejoice, and be glad in it. We may say, He hath showed his mercies towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever.

Let us look back to the time late past, and behold the night of error and ignorance. What shall I say? where shall I begin, or how may I end? The matter is of great compass, the time I have to speak is but short, and I have no delight to speak of darkness. After God had delivered the people of Israel, and given them passage through the Red Sea, Miriam, the prophetess, sister of Aaron, looked back into Egypt. There she remembered Pharaoh, and his cruelty, how he plagued the children of God; she remembered how, by a mighty hand and outstretched arm, he delivered them, and wrought his wonders upon Pharaoh, and all the land of Egypt.

She looked back upon the great darkness, and upon the frogs, and flies, and botches; she beheld the waters turned into blood, the killing of the first-born of man and beast, the overthrow of Pharaoh and all his chariots in the midst of the sea. And therefore she answered the men, Sing ye unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he overthrown in the sea, Exod. xv.

Even so, let us cast back our eyes, and make a view of the church. Loth I am to speak of it; yet it is needful to say somewhat thereof, that we may rejoice in our deliverance. All things were done in a strange tongue; the priest spake, and the people heard they knew not what; no man could say Amen to their prayers; the matters were such, that he might be reckoned happy who heard them not;

they abused the church of God with vain fables. If you doubt hereof, read their legends and festivals; they know this, they acknowledge it. It might well be spoken of them which Hilary said, "The ears of the people are more holy than the hearts of the priests."

I beseech you, mark the form and fashion of their prayers. To the blessed virgin they said, "Hail Mary, the saviour and comforter both of quick and dead." And again, "O glorious virgin Mary, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell." Again; "Show that thou art a mother." They call her, "Queen of heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of them that are in misery." It were tedious and unpleasant to recite the like their blasphemies. How did these men account of the cross and passion of Christ? what leave they to be wrought by the price of his blood?

To speak nothing of the multitude of their intercessors and patrons, of their false miracles, of their deceivable merits and works of supererogation; how foul a kind of idolatry was it, to worship the image with the self-same honour, wherewith they worship the thing itself, that is represented by the image! As if the thing itself be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image thereof be worshipped with godly honour.

The Holy Scriptures, which are the light to direct our ways, and the power of God to save our souls, were hid under a bushel. Whosoever built himself and his faith upon them, was adjudged a heretic. Marriage was forbidden, and fornication suffered; they did not only devour widows' houses, but drew to themselves the fat of the land, by pretence of their long prayers. I spare your chaste and godly ears, otherwise I were able to rehearse many their foul abuses and works of darkness.

Yet I will show you one of their night-birds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the Agnus Dei, here it is.* It was lately consecrated by the holy father, and sent from Rome. They teach that by the virtue of their consecration (or rather conjuration) and blessing, these little things have power to defend the faithful from lightning and tempest!

O merciful God! what hath the pope to do with the lightning, what can a piece of wax prevail to the staying of

* Jewell probably then produced an agnus dei, or the small figure of a lamb, in wax or metal, thousands of which are consecrated and sold every year at Rome, Loretto, and other places of pilgrimage.

a tempest? The Lord of heaven and earth, it is he that sendeth forth lightnings, and raiseth up tempests: fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind, execute his word, Psal. cxlviii. God will send forth his lightning, and consume them. Behold, saith Jeremiah, chap. xxv. the tempest of the Lord goeth forth in his wrath, and a violent whirlwind shall fall down upon the head of the wicked.

Oh! what a shepherd is he, that now in this light of the day thus mocks and deceives the lambs and sheep of Christ! Is this to worship Christ in spirit and truth? is this the hope we have in Christ? is this the profession of the gospel? is this the will of God, to commit our lives to so vile a cake?

Howbeit, there is no cause why any man should marvel hereat. For ignorance, which is the mother of error, by their own confession is become the mother of devotion; and these are the fruits and children of blindness and ignorance. I will speak nothing of that man from whence this gear cometh.* Would that he were the man he would seem to be! But if the light itself be darkness, how great then is the darkness! Yet they say of him, his voice must be received as the voice of Peter, and the word of God himself must take authority and credit of him. Thus hath he come between, like a cloud, and eclipsed the sun of God's glorious gospel.

If we behold either their schools, or their churches, their choir, their pulpit, their prayers, their sacraments, their clergy, their people, their doctrine, or their life, we may truly say, as the prophet said, Jer. xvi. Surely our fathers have inherited lies and vanity, wherein was no profit. We may truly say, The law hath perished from the priest, and counsel from the wise, and the word from the prophet; the blind did lead the blind; they have turned silver into dross, and fed the people with chaff, instead of wholesome and good meats. Blessed be the name of God, who hath given us eyes to perceive their dealings, and hath revealed unto us his word to guide our feet into the way of peace.

I know these things are defended boldly and obstinately; no marvel; for the apostle saith, Rom. x. They have not all obeyed the gospel. There have been, that have called the light darkness, and the darkness light. If our gospel be hid, saith he, 2 Cor. iv. it is hid in them that perish, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds.

* These articles, or trash, come.

I will not here make answer to any particular, albeit occasion be offered, and haply it be looked for. Contentions and quarrels have no end. All doctrine shall be brought to trial, the day of the Lord shall reveal errors, and give witness for the truth. God will turn all to his glory. Whatsoever stir is raised up against the truth, it is but a smoke, it will fade and come to nothing.

There are this day many, to all appearance godly men of good life, of righteous dealing, of great zeal and conscience, but yet have not eyes to see these things. I protest in their behalf, as did Paul, they have a great zeal of God's glory; would God it were according to knowledge! We may say with the prophet, Psal. xxxvi. O Lord, thy judgments are like a great deep.

Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who is of his counsel? God knoweth his time. He hath the key of David; he openeth, and no man shutteth; he is the Father of lights. We are in his hands, both we and all our counsels. God grant we may put off all fleshly affections, and put on Jesus Christ, and that all the earth may see his glory.

Now, on the other side, let us consider how mercifully God hath dealt with us. He hath restored unto us the light of his gospel, and hath taught us the secrets of his heavenly will. We hear him talk with us familiarly in the Scriptures, as a father talketh with his child. Thereby he kindleth our faith, and strengtheneth our hope; thereby our hearts receive joy and comfort.

We have the holy ministration of the sacraments: we know the covenant of baptism; we know the covenant and mystery of the Lord's supper; we fall down together, and confess our life before God; we pray together, and understand what we pray. This was the order of the primitive church; this was the order of the apostles of Christ. If we compare this with the former, we shall soon see the difference between light and darkness.

The kingdom of God now suffereth violence; the sound of the gospel hath gone over all the world, and the whole world is awaked therewith, and draweth to it. The sun is risen, the day is open; God hath made his kingdom wonderful among us. It is now time, now is it time, that we should arise from sleep, for now is our salvation near. Now it is in our mouth, we can speak of it. God grant it may be nearer us, even in our hearts.

The night is past, God grant it be past for ever, that we

be never again thrown into the darkness of death; that the word of life, the truth of Christ, be never again taken from us. And it shall never be taken away, if we be thankful. Unkindness can never escape unplagued. Let us wake, let us wake, our sleep is deadly; let us pray God to awake us, he is able to raise the dead.

Our Saviour saith, John v. The hour shall come when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live. Lazarus was dead, yet he heard the voice of Christ, and rose up again, and came abroad.

Let us put on Jesus Christ; let it appear upon us that we wear him; let us not be ashamed of his gospel; it is the power of God to salvation. If we be ashamed of him and of his word, he will also be ashamed of us when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Let us cast away the works of darkness, and all doctrines of superstition and ignorance; let us behold the troubles and miseries of other countries. Heaven and earth, our brethren, the care of our salvation, the Son of God himself, put us in mind, that it is now time. While we have time, let us do good, let us seek God while he may be found. The Lord waiteth when he may show his mercies.

Let us turn unto him with an upright heart; so shall he turn to us; so shall we walk as the children of light; so shall we shine as the sun in the kingdom of our Father; so shall God be our God, and he will abide with us for ever.

And thou, O most merciful Father, we beseech thee, for thy mercy's sake, continue thy grace and favour towards us; let the sun of thy gospel never go down out of our hearts; let thy truth abide and be established among us for ever. Help our unbelief, increase our faith, give us hearts to consider the time of our visitation. Apparel us thoroughly with Christ, that he may live in us, and so thy name may be glorified in us, in the sight of all the world. Amen.

SERMON ON ROMANS vi. 19.

Like as ye have given over your members to the service of uncleanness from one wickedness to another, even so now also give over your members to the service of righteousness, that ye may be holy, &c.

For the better understanding of these words, written by the apostle St. Paul, we must consider, that there are two princes of contrary dispositions and natures, who have the rule and governance of this world; that is, God and the devil; and that never was there man, since the first foundation of the world, but was in subjection and under obedience either to the one or the other.

And as God is the Father of light, the God of all good men, so is the devil, the father and prince of this world, the lord of darkness, the king of this age, as saith St. Paul, Eph. vi. and ruler of the wicked. And as all good men fight under the banner of God their Lord, so all ungodly fight under the standard of the devil their prince; and even as the just man hath his reward of God, so hath the wicked man his stipend of the devil.

And thus infidels, Turks, Jews, and all heathen people are under the power and dominion of the devil, under the standard of Satan, and therefore are they not able to think any good, to conceive one good thought, because they fight under his banner, because they have given over all their members to be ordered of the devil, without any feeling of good, without any fear of God. And thus, as I said, do the Turks, thus do the infidels, thus do all heathen people at this day; and so did the Jews in the time of Paul, Eph. iv. they walked in the shadow of death.

But after that it pleased God the Father, by the coming of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to reveal himself unto them, to open and declare his gospel among them, then began the people to renounce the devil, to forsake his law and service, and to betake themselves wholly to the governance of God. And therefore St. Paul, the further to encourage them thereunto, willeth them in this epistle of his, That like as beforetime they gave over their members to the service of uncleanness, from one wickedness to another, so should they now give over the same their members to the service of righteousness.

For to this end was Christ born into this world; to this end lived he here among us; to this end preached he, and taught the people God's holy word, that we, by his example, and the doctrine of his gospel, should live an upright and holy life. And therefore Zacharias, that holy prophet, being filled with the Holy Ghost, prophesied and said, before Christ's birth, that Christ should for this cause appear in this world, That we, being by him delivered from the fear of our enemies, might serve him in pureness and holiness all the days of our life, Luke i.

And St. Paul likewise saith, Eph. v. Ye were in darkness, but now ye are light; walk therefore as becometh the children of light. Therefore are we delivered from the power of darkness, saith St. Paul, that we should walk in the light, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. And so, 1 Thess. iv. God hath not called us to uncleanness, but to holiness and sanctity of life. Thus hath he called us, that we, not only in body but in soul, should be pure and unspotted.

And therefore St. Paul unto the Romans, Know you not saith he, (chap. vi.) that all we which are baptized into Jesus Christ, are baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, even so also should we walk in a new life. And for this cause this same Paul likewise saith, Rom. xii. Show yourselves as quick and lively members. And, Give over your bodies for a sacrifice, holy and acceptable before God. And, 1 Cor. iii. Know you not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?

These and many such other lessons has St. Paul given us, to call us unto pureness and holiness of life. Let us therefore, good brethren, live holily. Consider that God hath not called you to uncleanness, but to purity of life; consider, if ye be baptized with Christ into death, you must also walk with him in a new life; let your bodies be a sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God; show yourselves lively members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost. St. Paul saith, 1 Thess. iv. God hath called us, God hath appointed us to live in soberness, to live in pureness, to live in holiness; and this not in one part of our bodies, not in one part of our souls, but in our whole bodies, in our whole souls.

For Christ our Saviour suffered not his body to be crucified in one part; but even from the sole of the foot to the crown of his head, Matt. xxvii. was he beaten, rent, and

torn, and miserably tormented in his whole body; his body was scourged with whips, his head pricked with thorns, his hands and feet nailed to the cross, his side pierced with a sharp spear. For Christ, speaking of himself, saith, Psal. xxii. They have digged my hands and my feet, they have made holes through them.

And thus, since Christ suffered all his whole body to be tormented for us, since he suffered all his members to be crucified for our sakes, let us apply ourselves and all our members, to serve and please him in holiness and upright living all the days of our lives. And therefore saith St. Paul here, Ye have now betaken yourselves unto Christ, therefore let your conversation be accordingly; live as becometh the servants of Christ; for even as before this time ye gave over your members to uncleanness, from one wickedness to another, so now give over your members to the service of righteousness. And such was the life of all Christian men in the beginning of God's church; such was, I say, their life and living; they subdued their flesh, they mortified their members, and gave them over wholly unto Christ, and so made them members unto righteousness.

When Christ walked here on this earth, and was conversant in our flesh, and this nature of ours, at what time he entered into the house of Zaccheus, who was a ruler of the publicans, and desired to see Jesus; Zaccheus was turned into a new man, and he stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Luke xix. Behold, Lord, the half of my goods, I give unto the poor; and if I have defrauded any man, I restore him fourfold. Thus was he, only by the presence of Christ, turned into a new man; thus he, of an uncircumcised publican, was made the child of Abraham, and of a sinful and wretched creature, he became forthwith a Christian. And so in like manner, when Christ had but once called unto Matthew, and bade him follow him, immediately he left the toll-gathering, he left the receipt of the custom, he left his own proper gain and profit, and ran after Christ. Of such force was the presence of Christ unto Zaccheus, of such power was the commandment of Christ with Matthew the toll-gatherer.

Augustine, a little before he returned unto Christ, and embraced his truth, he feared, he trembled, and always stood in doubt; but so soon as Christ had once inspired him with his Holy Spirit, and revealed his truth unto him, forthwith, without any further doubt or delay, he renounced his errors, and became a perfect Christian.

There was once a Christian man, whose name was Eusebius, and being demanded what he was, answered a Christian; being asked what countryman, he said a Christian; who was his father, a Christian; where he dwelt, a Christian; and so to each other demand, he answered a Christian; as if he would say, Whatsoever I am, I am nothing but a Christian.

In the beginning of God's church, all good men were called Christian men; and yet was it not one thing to be a Christian and a good man. The Christian men, for that they considered they were called to salvation, to redemption by the death of Christ, and to the inheritance of heaven, they had their delight and only felicity in heavenly things; they esteemed not the vain pleasures of this world; and because they thus carried Christ in their bodies, because they had their members crucified unto Christ, therefore were they called Christians.

And so should we do, good brethren; so should we consider our redemption, so should we mortify our members; and renouncing the vain delights of this world, we should fix our eyes, our minds, and all our doings on heavenly things alone. Cyprian saith, The people come to learn the gospel, to hear the word of God; and wherefore? That they might work according unto the gospel, that they might bring forth fruits worthy the word of God, that they may thus do, therefore they hear God's word, saith Cyprian. And if we do not thus, whatever we brag of our redemption, whatever we brag of our profession, whatever we boast of the knowledge of God's gospel, it is to no end, it is not to effect or purpose. Therefore, if we have heretofore given over our members unto uncleanness, from one wickedness unto another, now let us give over the same our members unto the service of righteousness. For saith St. Paul, What profit, what fruit had ye at that time in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of such things is death.

It is the part of a wise man, and the office of a discreet man, in such good order to dispose all his business, and to bring all his doings to so good end, that he take no foil, nor have any shame therefore. Ye have committed sin, saith St. Paul, ye have given over your members, from one wickedness to another, and now ye are ashamed, now are ye sorry for those your misdoings; but what profit then had ye of those things whereof you are now ashamed?

This is a horror, and the greatest horror that may be,

that no man can commit sin without a great burden of conscience, without a great torment and disquietness of mind. Judas, when he had betrayed his master Christ, his conscience speedily accused himself, and was so great a burden to him, that, to be delivered and eased thereof, he went immediately and hanged himself, Matt. xxvii.

When Cain had slain his own brother, and committed that execrable murder, God said unto him, Gen. iv. Why dost thou lour? Such a thing is sin, that whosoever committeth it, it will forthwith appear in his face; it will appear, and show in his countenance. But happy is that man who soonest comes to repentance; happy is he that is soonest sorry for his sins and misdoings.

Adam, so soon as he had eaten of the forbidden fruit, and so transgressed the commandment of God, God called unto him, and said, Gen. iii. Adam, where art thou? He answered, I am fled away, Lord, I hide myself. And why fled he away? why hid he himself from the sight of God? Because he was ashamed. The prodigal son spoken of in the gospel, after he had riotously consumed his whole substance, and so was brought to extreme poverty, he returned again, came home to his father, fell down before his feet, and said, O father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, Luke xv. Why said he thus? Because he was ashamed. The people in the time of Daniel the prophet, when they saw their own wickedness, and repented them thereof, cried out and said, Dan. ix. Shame is come upon us, shame and confusion is this day fallen upon us. David the prophet when he had by tyranny caused his faithful and trusty servant Uriah to be slain, thereby to have his pleasure of Bathsheba his wife; and after he had seen his own folly, cried out unto God, saying, Psal. li. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, because I know mine iniquities. And why said he thus? Because he was ashamed. Jeremiah said, After thou hadst, O Lord, showed me mine offences, I was ashamed.

Thus, good brethren, a wicked conscience evermore bears shame about with it, evermore carries a most heavy burden, evermore is pricked and tormented, and never at quiet. And though there are some men so given over unto sin, that they feel no shame in this life, that are not moved in their conscience in this world, yet may they assure themselves they shall feel bitter torments in the world to come, and eternal shame that never shall have end. And if there are any that will now say, as the people in the time of Daniel did,

Whatsoever we do, God will not look unto us, he regardeth not our doings, whether we do good or evil, God hath no respect unto it; and so be nothing moved in their conscience for their sinful living; when they shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, then shall their conscience be moved with repentance, then shall they be ashamed; but then all too late.

Remember the glutton, the rich glutton, who in his life-time had nothing but pleasure, never felt adversity, nor ever was pricked in conscience for his misliving, after he fell into hell-fire, he was there tormented, and the worm of his conscience began to gnaw him; then he cried out unto Abraham, then he was ashamed, but then it was too late, Luke xvi.

And thus shall the wicked people do at the last day; the wicked people, I say, who shall then be living, and see the great terror of that day. They shall say unto the hills, Fall upon us; unto the mountains, Come cover us; then shall their own wicked consciences accuse them, then shall they be ashamed, but then too late.

Now, good brethren, what profit had all these of their own sinfulness? What profit and advantage had they of all their wickedness? What profit had Adam, by transgressing the commandment of God? What profit had Cain for murdering his brother? What profit won the prodigal son, by mispending of his father's goods? What profit had the people in the time of Daniel for their misliving? What profit had David by killing of Uriah? What profit had the rich glutton that lived in such pleasure? What profit, I say, had all these of their wickedness? No profit, no commodity, no pleasure at all, nothing else but shame and confusion.

Even so here St. Paul; What profit, said he, had ye then of all those things, of which ye are now ashamed? It appears well ye have gotten nothing but displeasure, nothing but shame and confusion. For the end of such things is death.

And this that is well spoken of honesty of life, this that is well applied to honest conversation, may well be spoken and applied to religon. For it behoves a man so to worship God, that he have no shame, no confusion therefore.

But, alas! from the beginning, even from the first creation of man, there have been good, there have been bad: some there have been, that, forsaking the living God, have worshipped their own devices: some, instead of God, have worshipped stocks and stones; some have sacrificed to the sun and moon, and made them their gods, and this hath been

from the beginning. Jeremiah writes, that the people in his time said, We will do sacrifice, and offer oblations unto the queen of heaven; for so, said they, our fathers did, and did prosper in their doings. Some said unto the stone, Thou art our father, and to a stock, Thou art our God, arise and save us, Jer. xliv. 2. And this hath been even from the beginning. The Babylonians worshipped Bel their god, which was but a block: they worshipped also a dragon, which they called their living God, and this did they in good earnest. The Israelites made a golden calf, and fell down before the same, and worshipped it, and said, These are thy gods, O Israel; these are they that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee.

We read also, that they worshipped a brazen serpent, and burnt incense and sacrifice unto it. And as they had these vain idols for their gods, so likewise had they a number of superstitious ceremonies of their own devising, which here were too long to be spoken of. And all this did they of blindness, thinking they had done well, meaning nothing but good therein. But afterwards, when it pleased God to show them their own blindness, to show them their folly, to show them the wickedness they walked in, then were they ashamed of their doings; then, I say, they were ashamed and confounded. And therefore, said Jeremiah the prophet, Truly our forefathers followed after lies.

The gentiles, when they perceived that the sun and moon, their chief gods, were indeed no gods, and able to do them no pleasure, then were they ashamed. When the people of Babylon saw and understood their own folly, in worshipping their god Bel and their dragon, that they were not such as they took them to be; then they were ashamed. And so in like manner, when the Jews saw before their eyes their golden calf molten, and their brazen serpent broken and ground into powder; then were they ashamed; then were they sorry and ashamed of their former doings.

Thus saith the prophet Isaiah, or rather God by the mouth of his prophet, Why offer ye so many sacrifices unto me? Offer me no more oblations; I abhor your incense; I may not away with your new moons and sabbaths; I am troubled with them, I am weary of them: who looketh for these things, who commandeth you so to do? Isaiah, in another place also, Why do ye lay out your money for the thing that feedeth not, and spend your labour about the thing that satisfieth not? In another place, the same prophet

saith, They make my people forget my name for their own traditions. He saith also, They weave the spider's web; they do nothing else but breed the cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web. My people, saith God, by his prophet Jeremiah, have forsaken me, their Lord, and digged themselves pits, that can hold no water.

Isaiah calleth man's invention dross; Jeremiah calleth it chaff; Malachi, excrement; Zechariah, God's curse. Christ himself calleth it the leaven of the pharisees. He calleth it also utter darkness. Thus it pleased God to describe unto us man's invention, to call it cobwebs, to call it filth, to call it dross and chaff, excrement, God's curse, the leaven of the pharisees, and utter darkness. And this he does for none other purpose, than only to make his people ashamed of their own inventions, ashamed of their own devices.

Paul, notwithstanding he was a great learned man, skilful in the laws and customs among the Jews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel; yet when he knew Christ, when he was filled with the Holy Ghost, and embraced God's gospel, he was ashamed of all he had learned before; he was ashamed of his own ignorance.

St. Thomas, who would not believe Christ to be risen from death, when he felt Christ's side, and had put his finger into his wound, then he was ashamed, then he was sorry for his unbelief. The Jews, when they perceived their own folly and ignorance, said, O men and brethren, what shall we do? Acts ii. The Ephesians, when St. Paul had preached unto them, and they received the doctrine of Christ, by and by, such as used curious crafts, came and brought their books of enchantment, their books of witchcraft, and burnt them; cast them into the fire, and burnt them, so much were they ashamed of their own folly. And so St. Paul; When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child; but as soon as I was a man, I left all childishness. Now I am become a man, and therefore I am now ashamed of my childishness, 1 Cor. xiii.

Thus might the prophets have said to the gentiles, What profit had you of your gods, the sun and the moon? What profit had you of them, whereof ye are now ashamed? So might Moses have said to the children of Israel, What profit had ye in this golden calf? So Hezekiah, What profit had ye in this brazen serpent, of which ye are now ashamed? Even thus Isaiah might likewise have said, What profit had ye in your calends, and new moons, in your holy days

and sacrifices? And so the other prophets might well have said, What profit had ye in your dreams, in your spider cobs, in your dross, in your chaff? What advantage had ye of all these things? Alas! ye are now ashamed of them, and therefore ye had no profit of them; ye had no pleasure by them; they brought you no advantage; they brought you only shame and confusion.

Thus let us weigh and consider what profit we had in times past of those things of which we are now ashamed. And let us consider how much we are beholden to God, that now we may see and know our own folly and ignorance, and so be ashamed. But herein there needs not many words, for there is no man so blind, but may well see, no man so deaf, but may well hear, no man so dull, but may well perceive and understand, the great error, the great blindness, the great darkness that we have been in. And therefore let us all now give God thanks that he hath restored his light unto us, and taken that great error and darkness from us. Loth I am here to speak of those things whereof we may be ashamed; loth and sorry I am to repeat that whereof we are now ashamed; but this place now requires the same; this time and place wills me somewhat to speak thereof.

The time hath been, that we have put our trust in pardons, in bulls of the pope's, in vain scrolls and writings of his; yea, and in them we have had greater hope and affiance than in the death of Christ, or merits of his passion. We have fallen down before images, before stocks and stones, such as had eyes, and saw not; ears, and heard not—before them we prayed; before them we kneeled, and stuck up candles. But now we are ashamed of them; we all are, I think, now sorry and ashamed of this our folly; but what profit had we then of all these things?

Sometimes we prayed in a strange tongue, in a tongue that we understood not; we prayed contrary to the use that was in the patriarchs' times, in the prophets' times, in the apostles' times; but then what profit had we of those prayers whereof we are now ashamed? We have seen lawful marriage forbidden, and men's lawful wives taken from them, and yet the use of a concubine granted, as though God were displeased with marriage, and pleased with sin; but what profit had ye then of that of which ye now are ashamed?

We had baptism, but we understood not the principles of our faith; and even as the prophet spake of his time, Hosea iv. The priest is become like the people; so might we well

have said of our own time, blind were they both, and therefore both fell into the dike. This we are now ashamed of; but what profit had we then thereby? The prophets, said Jeremiah, (chap. v.) teach falsely, and the priests follow them, and my people hath pleasure therein.

And lo, even this same which the prophet Jeremiah said the priests and prophets did in his time, we ourselves have seen done in our days, and now we are ashamed thereof, but what profit had we then by it? We had the sacrament of Christ's body, but we knew not why Christ instituted the same; we knew not why Christ left us that sacrament; we did all things contrary to Christ's institution.

Christ ordained a communion; but we had a private mass. Christ ordained that the whole people should receive in both kinds; but we ministered it under one kind alone. Christ, when he instituted this sacrament, spake in the common tongue, that all might understand him; but we, contrary to Christ, contrary to the apostles, contrary to the primitive church, consecrated the same in an unknown tongue, that no man might understand us. And hereof are we now ashamed; but what profit had we then thereby?

We have known this to be taught, that the bread in the sacrament was turned into the very body and blood of Christ our Saviour; this we all know, and do yet remember. But Christ, when he said the sacrament should be turned, meant not that the bread should be turned into his body, but that we who receive the same should be turned; that we, I say, should be turned, and made one body with him.

This was the meaning; this, I say, was the meaning of our Saviour Christ. And therefore St. Paul; The bread which we break is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. For we many are one bread, and one body, inasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread, 1 Cor. x. Christ himself said, I will drink no more of the liquor of the vine, Matt. xxvi. Christ, I say, after the consecration, said he would not drink any more of the liquor of the vine. The blood of Christ is not wine; it is not the liquor of the vine.

Augustine saith plainly, "That which you see on the table is bread." Theodoret also: "The substance and nature of the bread is not changed," saith he. Gelasius likewise, whom peradventure you will the more credit, because he was sometime bishop of Rome, saith, "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread." The nature of the bread

remaineth in the sacrament. Chrysostom also; "The substance of the bread is not altered."

I could say more; but this is, for this time, enough; this only, I trust, amongst a number of other, shall be now sufficient to persuade you the truth herein. You see here, that Augustine, Theodoret, Gelasius, and Chrysostom, do all affirm and herein agree, that the substance or nature of the bread, after the consecration, is not changed.

Let us therefore, good brethren, notwithstanding we have been otherwise taught; let us, I say, believe these holy doctors; let us credit them; they will not mock us; they will not deceive nor beguile us. But this other doctrine, this doctrine of transubstantiation, was of late devised, not past three hundred years ago, in the council of Lateran. And there, upon this new device of theirs, they made a great solemn and festival day, and called it Corpus Christi day. And now we are ashamed of this; but then what commodity, what profit had we thereof?

We found out of ourselves a new sacrifice, the sacrifice, I mean, of the mass, as though the death of Christ had not been a sacrifice sufficient; as though Christ's blood had not, once for all, washed away our iniquities; as though Christ had not said, I have paid the ransom for your sins. It were an infinite labour to repeat unto you particularly, all the abuses of late days used in the church of Christ; you yourselves can well remember them; I need not here to rehearse them unto you. But then what profit had ye of all such things of which you are now ashamed?

But some men there be peradventure, that will not be ashamed of these abuses, but always uphold and maintain the same; and such, if there be any, are like those whom Jeremiah prophesied of, saying, Thou hast taken an harlot's countenance; thou hast gotten thee a whore's forehead, and canst not be ashamed; they are like them also of whom Isaiah the prophet saith, Malice hath made you blind: you bark against the truth. This is the sin that never will be forgiven; this is so great an offence, that it will never be pardoned. Therefore let us to whom God hath given eyes to see, ears to hear, and hearts of understanding; let us, I say, consider that it is no shame to confess our errors, to acknowledge our blindness; but shame it is to continue in error; too much shame it is to remain still in blindness; and such as will not be ashamed of their evil, but laugh at, and scorn

others that are sorry and ashamed, may well be likened unto those whom St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, speaketh of, saying, They being past repentance, have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness, even with greediness. And such are given over unto a lewd mind. Such David the prophet speaks of, saying, They cast their eyes down to the ground. For such as wilfully offend, and wittingly cast away themselves, there is no salvation. Paul saith, Rom. vi. Their end is death; their end is only destruction. This is the same that St. John speaketh of, which neither shall be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come.

Wherefore were they cast into hell, who now lie therein? For what cause continue they in those endless torments? Because they would not acknowledge their errors; because they would not be ashamed of their own folly.

Wherefore are there in hell-fire unquenchable torments, such as cannot be thought, utter darkness and eternal death, but only to punish such as wilfully live in wickedness; to plague them that will not be ashamed of their sins and offences? They shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, into fire that never shall be quenched, where the worm of the conscience never dieth.

If we delight in covetousness, in adultery, in fornication, and filthy living, the end, let us say, is death; the end thereof is none other than eternal death. The prophet David said, Psal. xv. O Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill? Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life, that doth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart; he that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour. But, O merciful God, who walketh now innocently? who leadeth an uncorrupt life? who doth the thing that is right? who speaketh truth from his heart? What man is there that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour?

Jeremiah, speaking of the people in his time, saith, They are ashamed, nay, they are not ashamed. And even so may we of our days well say, The people are not ashamed; they are nothing sorry nor ashamed of their evil living. These St. Paul speaketh of, writing unto the Philippians; I speak with tears, saith he; they are the enemies of Christ's cross; their end is damnation; their glory shall be turned into shame, Phil. iii.

And shall we then live thus? shall we thus die? shall we thus end our lives? shall we thus appear at the latter day, and not be ashamed? Shall adulterers, fornicators, whoremongers, covetous persons, come and stand before the judgment-seat of God, before the throne of his majesty, and not be ashamed? Is this the marriage-garment that we should be clad with? Are we those that are called to the feast by the Bridegroom? Are we Christ's brethren, and heirs of the kingdom of God? No. The wicked shall not arise in judgment, saith the prophet David; the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous, Psal. i.

Wo be unto them that run from God with a desperate mind; wo be unto them that wilfully forsake and fly from him. Gregory saith, "One sin linketh another, as one link of a chain holdeth the other." It is a horrible thing to turn from God; it is a terrible thing to fly from him; for if we turn from God, whither shall we go? If we fly from him, whither shall we run? Our own conscience, though we hide ourselves ever so close, shall be as a thousand witnesses against us; our own conscience shall utter and bewray us. Augustine saith, "If we do not indeed repent, we feign that we do repent;" we only feign, saith he, that wo do repent, and so we mock with God.

But God will not be mocked of us; he will not be deluded by us; but we shall be ashamed and confounded when we appear before God; when we appear, I say, before the judgment-seat of God. But then what profit shall we have of that whereof we are ashamed? what advantage shall we then have of that whereof we are now ashamed? Let us consider, that we are flesh of God's flesh, bones of his bones, and members of his members. And therefore let us give over our whole bodies, let us give over all our members; let us give over our eyes, our ears, our tongues, our hearts, unto the homage and service of God. So shall we have profit of Christ our Saviour; so shall we have profit of his death and passion, and so shall Christ say unto us, Come ye blessed of my Father, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Amen.

EXTRACTS FROM OTHER SERMONS.

CHRISTIAN UNION.

Good brethren, let us lay aside all contention, all strife and debate, and let us look up unto heaven; let us cast our eyes thither, where is no rancour, no discord, no strife, no debate; let us fix our eyes, our hearts, and our whole minds on Jesus Christ; on him, I say, who, hanging on the cross, prayed for his persecutors, and said, O Father, forgive them, they wot not what they do. Let us imagine that we now behold him, and that he now spreadeth out his arms unto us, and saith, O thou sinful man, that slumberest in thy sins, and sleepest in thine own wickedness, awake; now is it time for thee to awake out of thy slumber, and arise from thy heavy sleep: remember, thou art a Christian man, consider thou art a limb of my limbs, a member of my body, the child of God, and coheir of my Father's kingdom.

You children of men, how long will you dwell in your old wickedness? how long will ye live in hatred one with another? how long will ye continue in rancour and strife? Shall I so forgive you as you forgive your neighbours? and shall I so pardon you your sins, as you pardon your brethren their offences? Oh! I forgave thee thy great debt, and wilt not thou forgive thy brother that little wherein he hath offended thee? I have paid his debt, I have paid the ransom for his trespass; if my blood be a sufficient ransom for the same, for that blood's sake of mine forgive him; if nought else will move thee, if thou wilt not for his own sake, yet for my sake pardon him.

Good brethren, we have long enough served the devil, the prince of this world; let us now serve God our Maker, and Christ our Redeemer. We have long enough, yea, too long, continued in rancour and malice one with another; let us now therefore, if there be any society between God and us, if there be in us any love of Christ, if there be any fear of God's wreak and vengeance, let us one forgive another; let every man forgive his Christian brother; let us all cast aside all rancour, strife, and debate, and so let us dwell together in unity, in brotherly love and concord.

This day we have heard God's gospel preached unto us, this day we have learned out of the word of God, that if we be Christians, we should live like Christians; if we be the children of God, we should live as becometh the children of God, without envy, without hatred, without strife or malice. Let us therefore now leave off our old contention and strife, let us even here, in this place, one forgive another, and so be reconciled one unto another, and say, O Lord, forgive us our sins, as we forgive them that trespass against us. This is our profession, this is our religion; hereunto are we called of God, appointed by Christ, and commanded by his holy word. Let us consider our white and hoary hairs, let us behold our rivelled skin, let us have always before our eyes the grave, whereunto we are creeping; let us consider that death daily hangeth over our heads. And shall we then in this sort live out the rest of our years? shall we thus die, and come to our graves?

Let us show ourselves in our works to be the children of God, and the brethren of Christ; let us not show ourselves Christians in name, and not in deed; let us not love in word alone, but in deed and verity; let us not requite evil with evil, one mischief with another, but let us, according to St. Paul's rule, Rom. xii. overcome evil with good, hatred with love, and so fulfil the law of God.

So shall God hold back his sword, though already drawn; so shall he not smite us, though he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy. But God shall continue our God, and remain with us for ever. Amen.

THE ZEAL TO BE SHOWN BY MINISTERS FOR THE SALVATION OF SOULS.

These things I speak now to them which have taken upon them the ministry of God's word, to them that have taken upon them to be guides unto the flock of Christ; to them I speak this, to put them in remembrance, that they never forget their message, that they forget not their duty, that they improve, rebuke, exhort, and control the people; that they be earnest and fervent, calling still upon them, both in time and out of time, in season and out of season; that they fulfil the office whereunto they are called; that their conscience may be found without spot; and, in conclusion, that they may plant, that they may water, and God may

give the increase; that they may both reform the ungodly, and encourage the godly.

And this have we in our commission, this is our duty, this will be required of us; and this if we do not, we shall be found faulty, for we are debtors unto all men, Rom. i. as well unto the page, as unto the prince; unto the poor, as unto the rich; unto the foolish, as unto the wise; unto the bad, as unto the good. And therefore, my brethren, even for this cause alone, all good and godly preachers, and such as were sent from God, have ever been so zealous, and have so much desired the salvation of God's people.

O my brethren, consider the zealous heart that Moses, the zealous affection that Paul, had unto the salvation of the people. What think you is it to be stricken out of the book of life? what think you is it to be a man accursed, and to have portion among reprobates? Moses was content to be blotted out of the book of life, so that the people of Israel might be saved. St. Paul was content to be accursed, and cast from the face of God, so that God's people might not be cast to perdition.

Thus they, of an earnest heart and zealous love they bare to the congregation of God, wished their own destruction for the safeguard of others. Therefore also it behoves you, my brethren—you that are temporal men, it behoves you, on the other part, not to despise God's messengers, not to set light by them that preach you the gospel and glad tidings of your salvation.

Whensoever we hear the word of God preached, notwithstanding the preacher bear no pomp of eloquence or show of great learning, notwithstanding he be a simple and poor man; yet if he bring unto us the rule of Christ's gospel, if he teach us the will of God, and the glory of his word, let us not despise him; let us consider that he is God's messenger, and appointed by God to help us to salvation.

THE ACCEPTABLE TIME.

God saith, In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee. These words are written in the prophecy of Isaiah, and they were pronounced by him, of the appearance of Christ our Saviour, and his coming into this world. And these words, thus spoken by the prophet, St. Paul here fitly applied to the preaching of Christ's gospel. For, like as our Saviour came

into the world at such time as Christ was born, so when the gospel is truly preached, and God's holy word sincerely taught us, then is Christ opened unto us; then is the acceptable time, and our salvation is wrought thereby.

Therefore St. Jerome, that holy father and old doctor of the church, saith, As often as we hear the gospel of Christ preached unto us, so oft the flesh and blood of Christ is poured into our ears. And these words of his do plainly and most evidently show us, how we should understand the eating of Christ's body and drinking of his most holy blood in the sacrament. These words, I say, may sufficiently teach us what is meant by the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood. This is it that St. Paul here speaketh of, that they receive not the grace of God in vain. And whensoever the gospel of God is truly and sincerely preached, and is received accordingly, then is the acceptable time, then is the time of grace and salvation.

Oh, what a comfortable saying is this! Whensoever we hear the gospel taught us, whensoever we hear God's holy word preached unto us, then is the gate of salvation set open unto us, and then is the time of grace. And on the contrary part, when God's word is taken from us, and the light of his gospel hidden from our eyes, then is the gate of salvation shut upon us, and then is the time of perdition.

But, alas! the time of grace, the acceptable time, the time of mercy and salvation, hath oftentimes but little continuance among us. Oftentimes it hath small time of abiding with us. For before Christ appeared, and was born into this world, for the space of four thousand years, the whole world, the Jews only excepted, was in ignorance and altogether blindness. And when Christ was born, when he once appeared, then was the acceptable time; then was the time of grace; then was the time of salvation.

Here some man will peradventure say, Why did God suffer the whole world so long to be in blindness? Why would he in that time have no respect to any other nation, but only to the nation of the Jews? This case is deep, and passeth our capacity to reason, it is above the reach of man's understanding, and therefore herein we have only to submit ourselves, to humble our hearts and our minds, and say with the apostle, O man, what art thou that findest fault with God? What art thou that reprovest the Almighty?

As God of his providence and good wisdom hath

appointed for us both summer and winter, the spring, and likewise the fall of the leaf again; so hath he ordained a time of light and a time of darkness, a time of salvation and a time of destruction. And no man may say unto him, Why dost thou thus? These things seem good in his eyes, and therefore what art thou, O man, that will call God to account why he doth this, or why he doth that? Rom. ix.

Thus it pleaseth God, and standeth with his good will, oftentimes to show us his light, and the glory of his gospel; and oftentimes again to take the same from us, and leave us altogether in blindness, altogether in ignorance, altogether in utter darkness.

For so he hath said by Amos his prophet, I will send hunger upon the earth, not the hunger of bread, nor the thirst of water, but hunger to hear the word of the Lord; so that they shall go from one sea to the other, yea, from the north to the east, running about to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it, Amos viii. Christ himself also, in the gospel, saith, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, Matt. xxi.

Good people, let us consider that God, of his goodness, hath sent unto us this acceptable time, the time of mercy and grace; that he hath delivered us from the horrible thraldom that we sometime lived in; that God hath put away the blindness, and dispersed that great darkness whereunder the whole world was sometime whelmed, that we may now worship him in spirit and holiness, without superstition or idolatry; that we may now walk in the light without any error or wandering. And this great blessing of his, whoso seeth not, I pray God open his eyes, that he may both see and understand it.

Let us not, good brethren, let us not take this grace of God in vain; let us not despise this gospel of Christ, whereby the whole world is saved. God knoweth how long this acceptable time, this time of grace, this time of salvation, shall last and continue amongst us. And what knowest thou, O thou man, whether by one only sermon many may not be converted, and won to the faith of Jesus Christ? St. Peter, by one only sermon, converted five thousand people.

St. Jerome hath a saying worthy to be noted, and it is this: "I know not whether that soul may be saved, which is negligent in hearing the word of God and the gospel of his salvation preached." I now not, saith he, whether such a

soul may be saved! Alas! good brethren, we are not able to save you; God is your only Saviour and Redeemer; we are but God's messengers, sent unto you; we are but helpers appointed to exhort you to the gospel of God, and to open unto you the glory of your salvation.

If you then will wilfully refuse to hear God's holy word, and will not embrace the same, we cannot save you; we are not able to work your salvation. I myself rose up ever betimes, to warn my people, saith God by his prophet, Jeremiah vii.; I myself stand all the day at the gate, crying unto them to commune with them, yet would they not hear; I called unto them, yet would they not answer me.

O my dear brethren, God knocketh; let us open the gates of our hearts unto him; he calleth, let us hear him; he crieth, and willeth us to come up to him. O therefore let us run, let us make haste, let us fly unto him. I have ever stretched out my hands to an unfaithful people, saith God by his prophet, Isaiah lxv.; all the day long have I stretched out mine arms unto a people that will not hear me; all the day long have I stretched out mine hands unto them, and yet they will not know me; I have sent you the acceptable time; I have given you the days of grace, the days of mercy, the days of salvation.

O then let us not receive this acceptable time in vain; let us not take this grace of God in vain; let us remember how many thousands of people perish this day for want of the gospel of God, and knowledge of his holy word. We are they whom God hath called to be his children, whom he hath appointed to be saved, whom he hath received to his grace and mercy.

If we have any great policy; if we have any great knowledge; if we have any learning, riches, wealth, and felicity in this world; let us consider that we have them from God alone; that God giveth us our policy; that God giveth us our knowledge; that God giveth us our learning; that he alone giveth us our riches, our wealth, and all other felicity that we have in this life. O then let us not take these great gifts of God in vain; let us not take these graces of his in vain. Let our lives so shine before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven. Amen.

THE END.